

1981

## Ethnicity in the graveyard

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ETHNICITY IN THE GRAVEYARD

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A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements of the Degree of

Master of Arts

---

by

Conrad M. Goodwin

1981

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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Gee, but the graveyard is a lonesome place,  
Lord, that old graveyard is a lonesome place,  
They put you on your back,  
Throw that mud in your face.

(Jimmy Rodgers, "The TB Blues", from the  
album, A Legendary Performer, RCA Records.)

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## ABSTRACT

Beginning with a highly visible difference among six Baptist graveyards, this study examines cultural differentiation in Lancaster County, Virginia. Combining ethnographic data with a detailed study of the grave markers allows several hypotheses to be tested. These include: family and societal roles are more apparent in black cemeteries than in white; both blacks and whites are concerned equally about graveyard appearance; and black culture is converging with white culture.

Examination of these and related hypotheses suggest that many assumptions held by some social scientists and the general public are not necessarily valid. My tentative conclusions point to distinct cultural differences between the white and black segments of the small community being investigated, and indicate we are still living in a pluralistic society which probably will continue for several more generations.

## INTRODUCTION

One Saturday afternoon in the spring of 1980, while driving through the rural countryside of Lancaster County, Virginia, stopping from time to time to look at the many graveyards scattered on the landscape, I noticed that some of the graveyards contained long, rounded concrete markers, or tablets. (See Plate 1.) Further investigation of this phenomenon revealed that the graveyards with the concrete markers, which are called cement vault tops (Personal interviews, E.W. Haynie and Brenda Horn, 1980), are found in \*black Baptist churchyards and the tablet markers are associated primarily with \*white churchyards of various denominations.

From the side of the road I could see that the black graveyards contained both cement vault tops and tablets, but my overall impression was one of a rather unobstructed view across the landscape. The white graveyards were somewhat different and contained upright tablet forms presenting a somewhat cluttered appearance and obstructing the view.

\*Hereinafter, black or white, when used to describe churches or cemeteries, refers to those churches or cemeteries used, respectively, by the black or white ethnic groups.

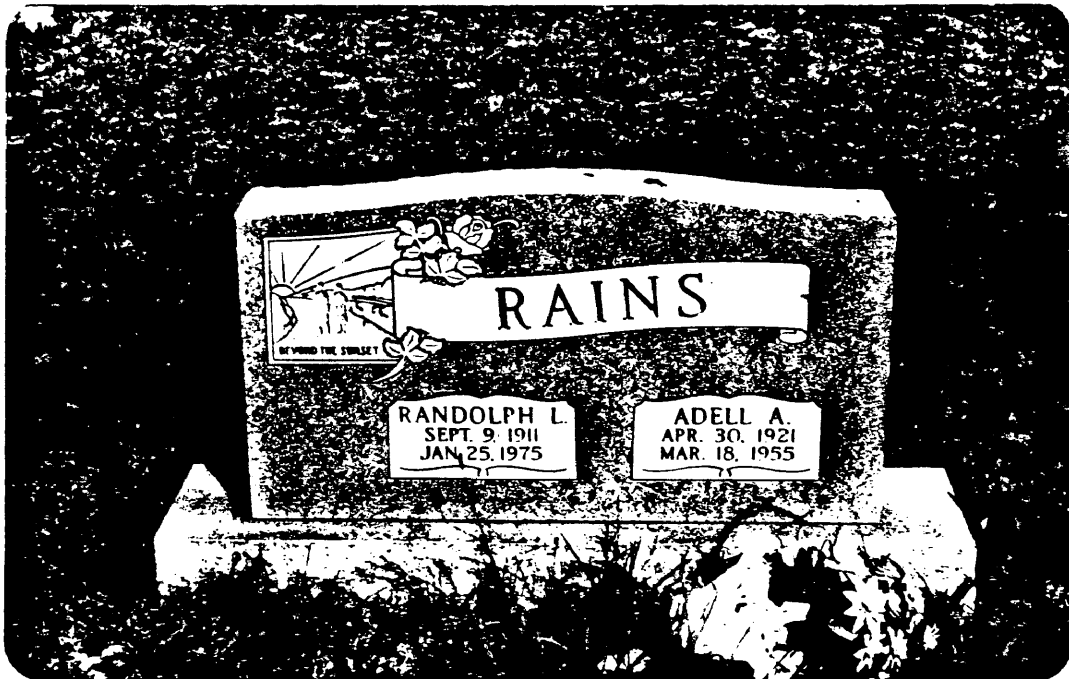


Plate 1: Cement vault top from Sharon Baptist Church (upper); Granite upright marker from Claybrook Baptist Church (lower).

This observable difference between the black and white graveyards raised several questions in my mind about possible cultural differentiation between the black and white segments of Lancaster County society. Do differences really exist? Will an intensive study of graveyards reveal some of those differences? Will the graveyards reveal similarities? And, perhaps most important, will the graveyards reveal cultural diversity or convergence through time? These are the broad questions I propose to address in varying degrees in this study.

There are nearly 30 church graveyards and close to 70 small, private family plots that I know of in Lancaster County. Five of the church cemeteries are black Baptist, and one -- a fairly recent cemetery containing only about six observable markers -- is a black pentecostal church graveyard. The remaining church cemeteries are white, and seven of these are Baptist.

To create a data base of manageable size and still address the broad questions previously mentioned, I have imposed the following limits on the available data. This study investigates in detail three white and three black Baptist graveyards. This gives me a 50% sample of all the Baptist cemeteries as well as an equal number for each ethnic group. Selection of Baptist cemeteries also eliminates bias of other religious denominations which

might affect this study. It is my intention to locate the graveyards in space noting their arrangement in the rural landscape; to briefly discuss the layout of the graveyards with regard to internal arrangement and physical appearance; to discuss the various materials that the markers are made from; and to concentrate on the stones themselves to see whether form, shape, carvings, inscriptions, or grave goods reflect cultural differences and similarities as they may have changed through time.

Throughout this study, I am using the term ethnic with reference to the black and white social groups within Lancaster County, Virginia. I am defining an ethnic group as "a group that is socially differentiated in terms of cultural characteristics." (Geschwender, 1978, p.17.)

#### Historical Sketch

Baptists have been active on the Northern Neck of Virginia since the late 18th century. Morattico Baptist Church was established in 1778 in Lancaster County and is the oldest church of that denomination on the Northern Neck. Morattico became the mother church of all the other Baptist churches in Lancaster County. (Morattico Baptist Church history, 1978.)

The white Baptist churches did not begin to splinter off from Morattico until the mid-19th century. Lebanon Baptist was organized in 1842, and was followed by

Corrottoman Baptist in 1844. These two are upper county churches, and the communities from which they were formed were the most distant from Morattico. Norwood Chapel, another upper County church, was established in 1893 out of Lebanon Baptist and is still ministered by the Lebanon pastor. (Rappahannock Baptist Assoc. Annual 1979.)

In the lower County, splits from Morattico did not begin until near the turn of this century. Irvington and White Stone Baptist churches were both established in 1895, and Maple Grove was in operation as a chapel at this time. Claybrook Baptist was organized by a group of people meeting in private homes in 1897, and became an independent church in 1912. (Conklin, 1972.) Kilmarnock was the last of the white Baptist churches to be organized, and was established in 1915.

The history of the black Baptist Churches is less well known and documented. I have been unable to locate any official published church histories. It is known that blacks attended the white churches before the Civil War.

By July, 1859, the membership ,at Lebanon Baptist. had increased to one hundred and eighty-five, one hundred and ten white and seventy-five colored, it then being the practice among all churches to accept as members of the church those colored persons who desired to join. (Warwick and Forrester, 1976, p. 5.)

Mr. Quinton Campbell, owner of Campbell's Funeral Home, whose father was an eight year old slave when the



Civil War ended, informed me that old St. John's is the oldest of the black Baptist churches in Lancaster County. (Personal interview, July 30, 1980.) Since organized black churches were not permitted to exist legally in Virginia until after the Civil War (Brown, 1968, p. 20; Dubois, 1903, pp. 22-6.), presumably Old St. John's was not organized until after 1865.

In November of 1867, the black members of Lebanon Baptist Church were given a letter of dismissal and they organized Beulah Baptist in 1868. (Warwick and Forrester, 1976, p. 6.) Calvary Baptist and Mt. Vernon Baptist were established before the turn of the 20th century, but the exact dates are unknown to me at this time. Sharon Baptist grew out of Calvary and Mt. Vernon, and was established about 1900. (Personal interview, the Rev. Clarence Carter, July, 1980.)

Queen Esther, New St. John's, and Willie Chapel were established in the early part of the 20th century.

Seven of the eight white Baptist churches have cemeteries, Maple Grove being the exception. Calvary and Queen Esther are the only two black churches without cemeteries. Old St. John's church burned and was replaced in this century by New St. John's at a new location. The original graveyard, though still in use, is almost completely overgrown, and another cemetery was established at New St. John's.

## Methodology

### The Selection Process

Choosing which Baptist graveyards to study depended on three factors. First, selection depended on accessibility. I wrote a letter to each of the pastors requesting permission to photograph and document their respective cemeteries. I received permission from all but White Stone Baptist, Willie Chapel, and New St. John's Baptist. These last three did not respond even after a follow-up letter and were, therefore, excluded from the sample at the very beginning. At the time the letters were sent (June, 1980), Morattico Baptist was excluded from consideration because several local citizens told me that it was located in Northumberland County. It was not until early in 1981 that I found out Morattico was in Lancaster County, but by then my selection had been made.

Second, selection depended on compatibility of the data with the questions I was investigating. It was desirable to have the graveyards as close as possible to the same time period so as not to skew the results. For example, the inclusion of Morattico Baptist may well have changed the quantitative results of the white graveyards as it is much older than the others. I also wished to keep the size of the graveyards approximately the same, again so as not to skew the results by having one

graveyard overshadow the others in the sample.

Third, selection of cemeteries depended on the time and economics involved. I did choose graveyards close to where I live in order to keep the cost of gasoline to a minimum. More important, however, was time. Documenting the graveyards to the extent I planned takes a lot of time. Each cemetery took approximately four hours to map, between eleven and fifteen hours to photograph and document, and between six and eight hours to code for the computer.

The above three factors were the prime ones governing my cemetery selection, and appear in order of priority of my consideration. One other factor impinged on my last choice-Kilmarnock Baptist. This cemetery, until early this year, was owned jointly by the Kilmarnock Baptist Church and a private group, and is known as Woodlawn Cemetery. It had been reported to me that some blacks might be buried in this graveyard and, if so, it was the only case I know of where both blacks and whites were interred in the same graveyard in Lancaster County. Would the differences and similarities in this graveyard, if blacks were present, be the same as in the known separated black and white graveyards? This seemed an important question to investigate, and I selected this cemetery as my final one. The chart (Figure 1) shows the six

Church name	Date church established	Oldest stone	Newest stone	Ethnicity
BEULAH	1868	1903	1980	black
CLAYBROOK	1912	1897	1980	white
KILMARNOCK	1915	1907	1981	white
IRVINGTON	1895	1890	1980	white
MT VERNON	c.1875	1897	1980	black
SHARON	c.1900	1904	1980	black

Figure 1. Graveyards in this study.

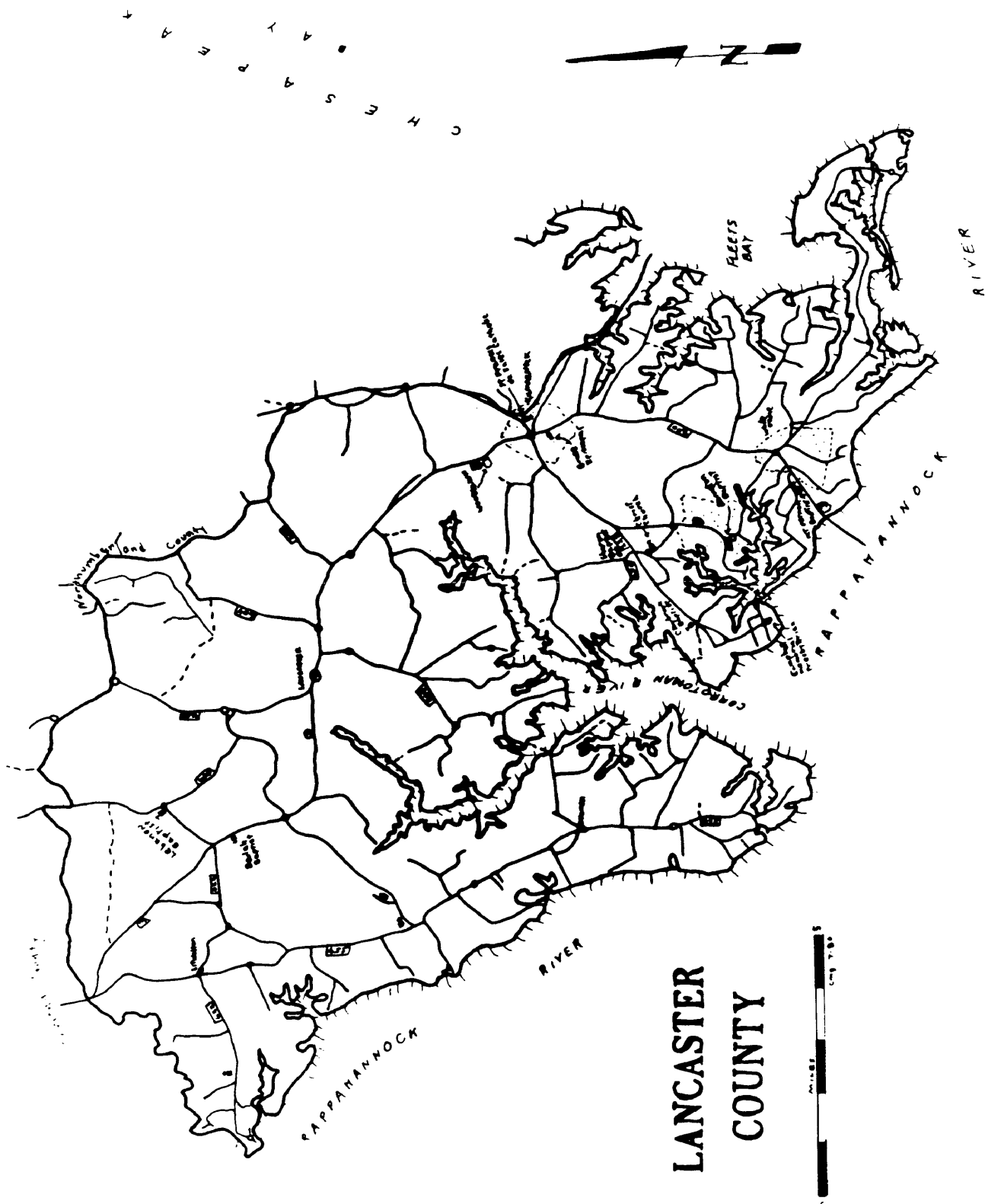


Plate 2. Map showing cemetery location.

graveyards included in this study, and Plate 2 is a map of the county showing the location of the six cemeteries.

### Gathering the Data

The first thing I did was walk slowly throughout each graveyard, writing down ideas, thoughts, or observations as they occurred to me. I made notes of unique stones, names, or unusual conditions. I took photographs of representative stones from all the graveyards, as well as the more unusual ones. The cost of film and processing is prohibitive and made photographing every grave an impossibility. I have, however, virtually a complete photographic record of every stone in two of the graveyards - Sharon Baptist and Claybrook Baptist. Both of them are in Weems, and the former is black and the latter, white.

The next step was to map the graveyards. Time did not permit me to map with transit and tape, so using ruled graph paper measured in 10 squares to the inch, I paced the dimensions of the graveyards. One of my paces, approximately three feet, equalled one division on the graph paper. Since most of the stones were oriented in the same direction in every graveyard, it was fairly easy to place them on the graph paper. I paced the distances between each of the graves and this gave me a usable map for numbering the graves and markers. (See Plates 3-8.)

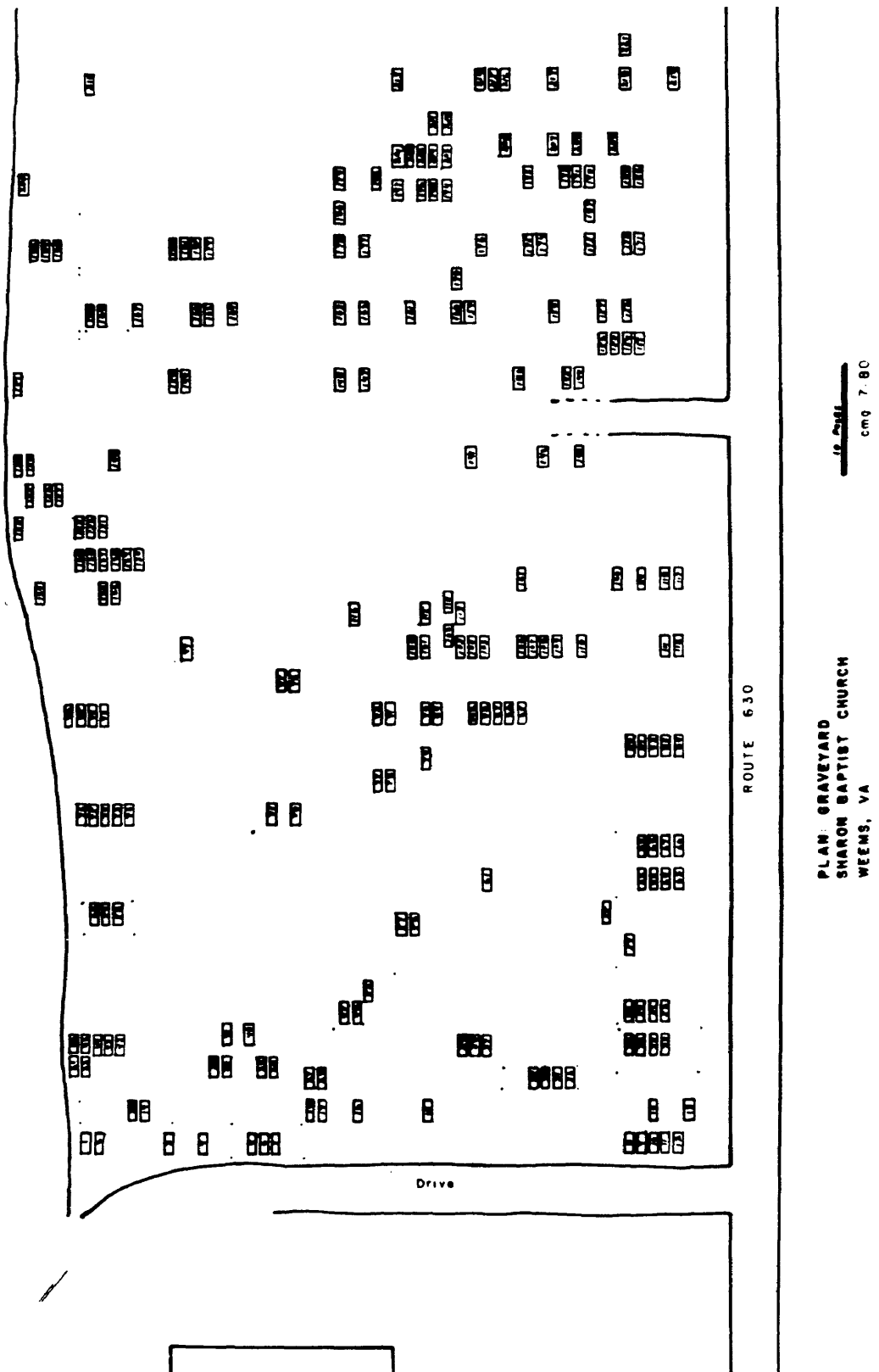


Plate 3. A black graveyard in Weems, Virginia

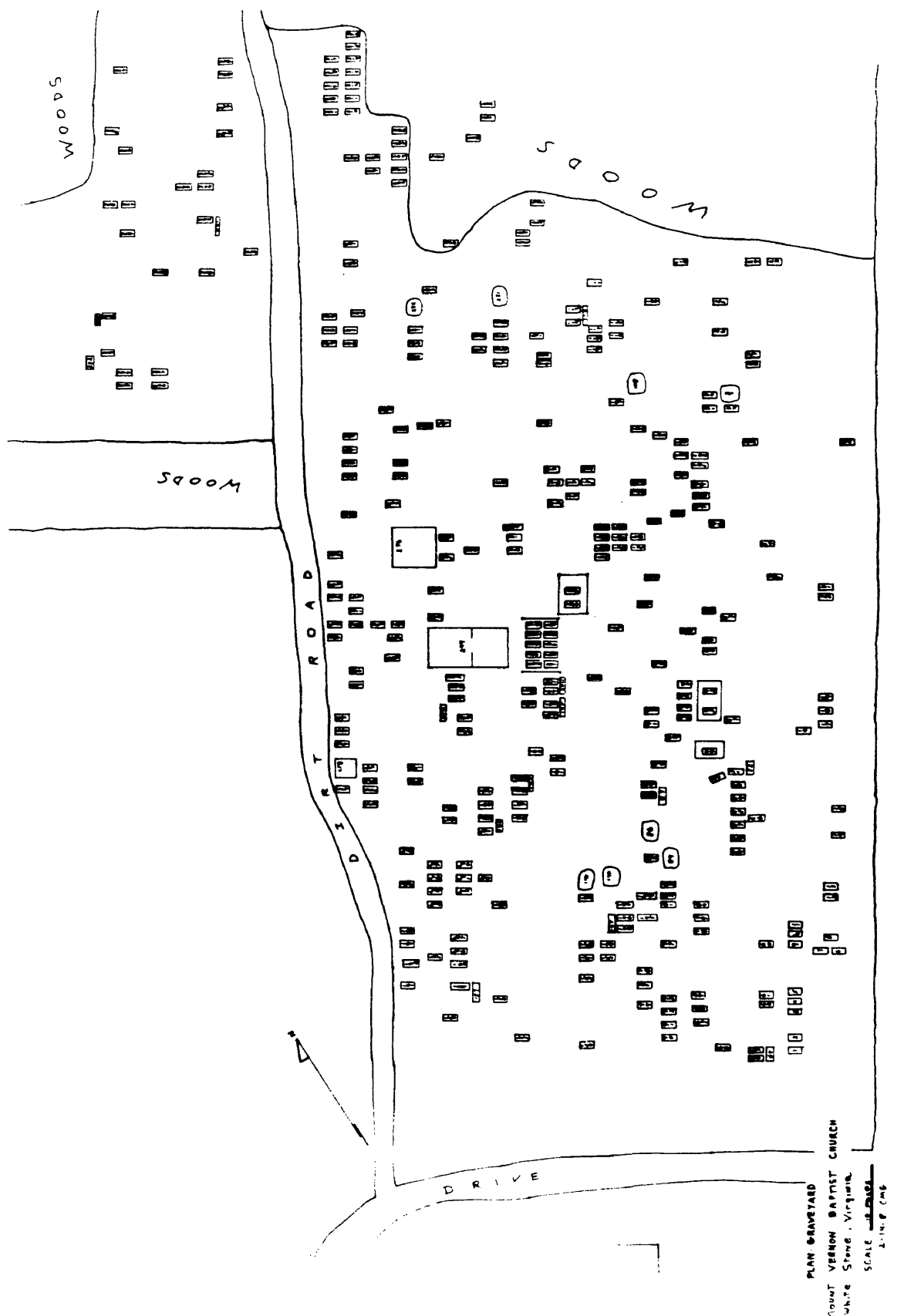
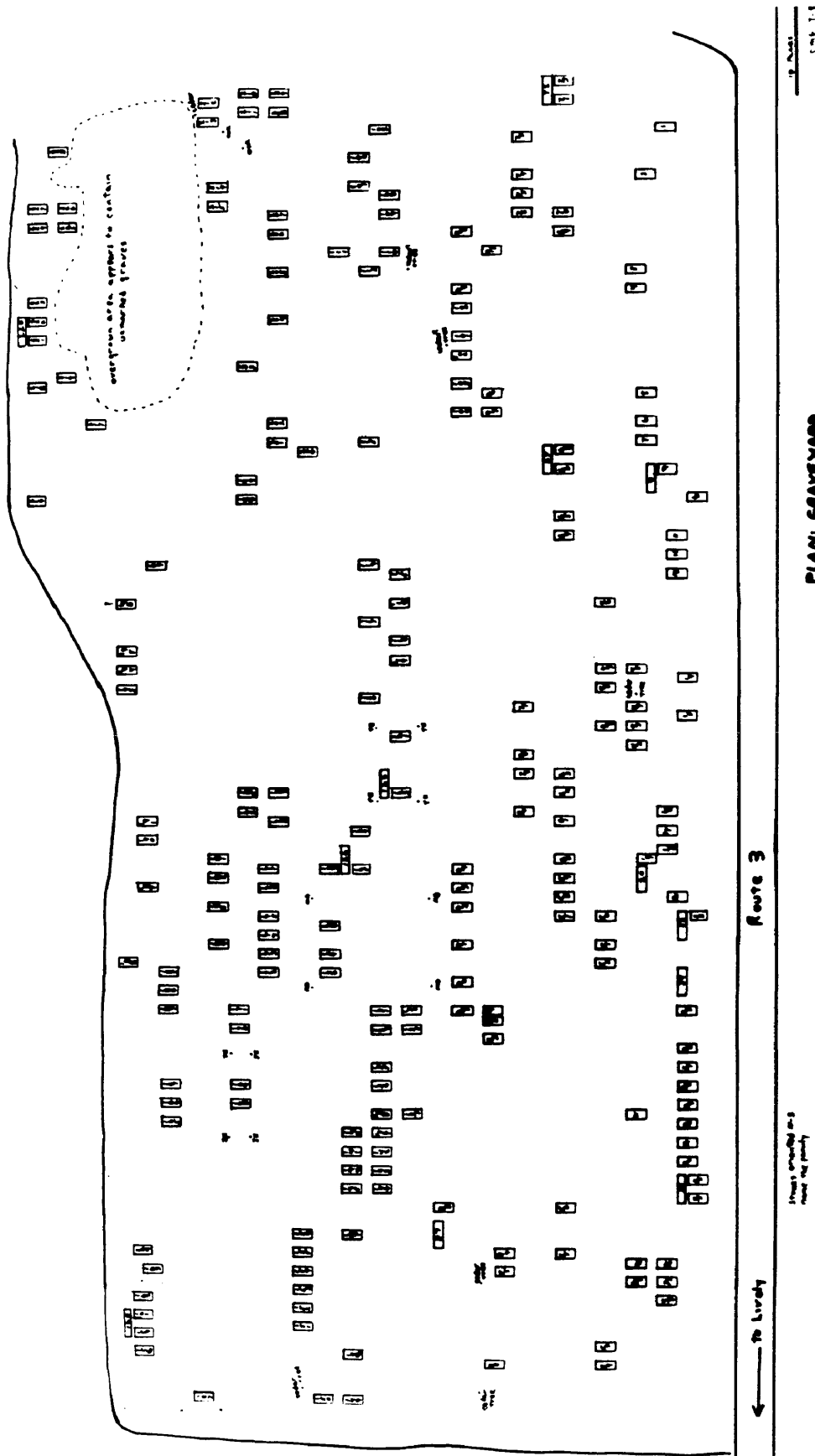


Plate 4. A black graveyard in White Stone, Virginia.





PLAN: GRAVEYARD  
BEULAH BAPTIST CHURCH  
LIVELY, VA.

Plate 5. A black graveyard in Lively, Virginia.

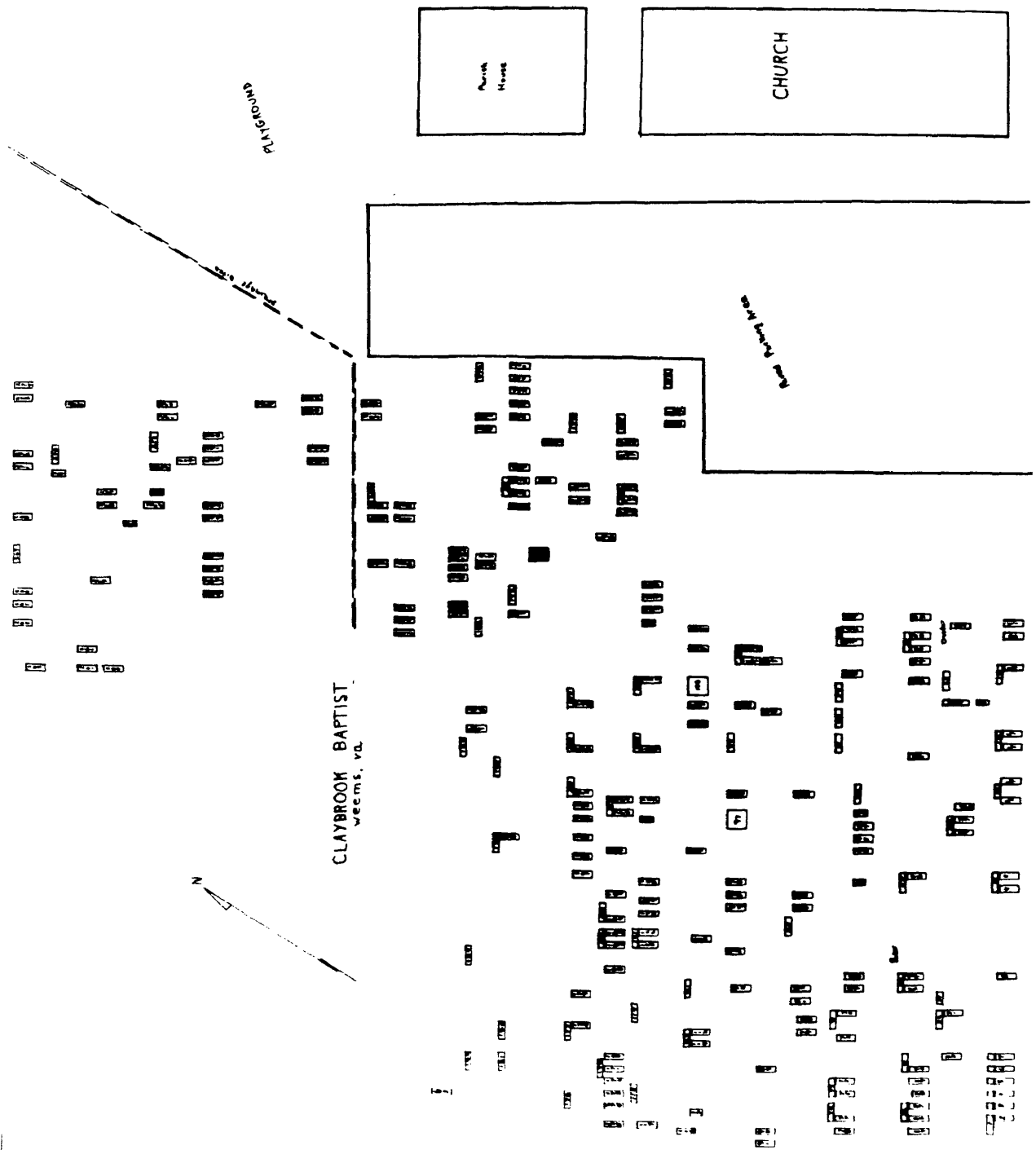


Plate 6. A white graveyard in Weems, Virginia.

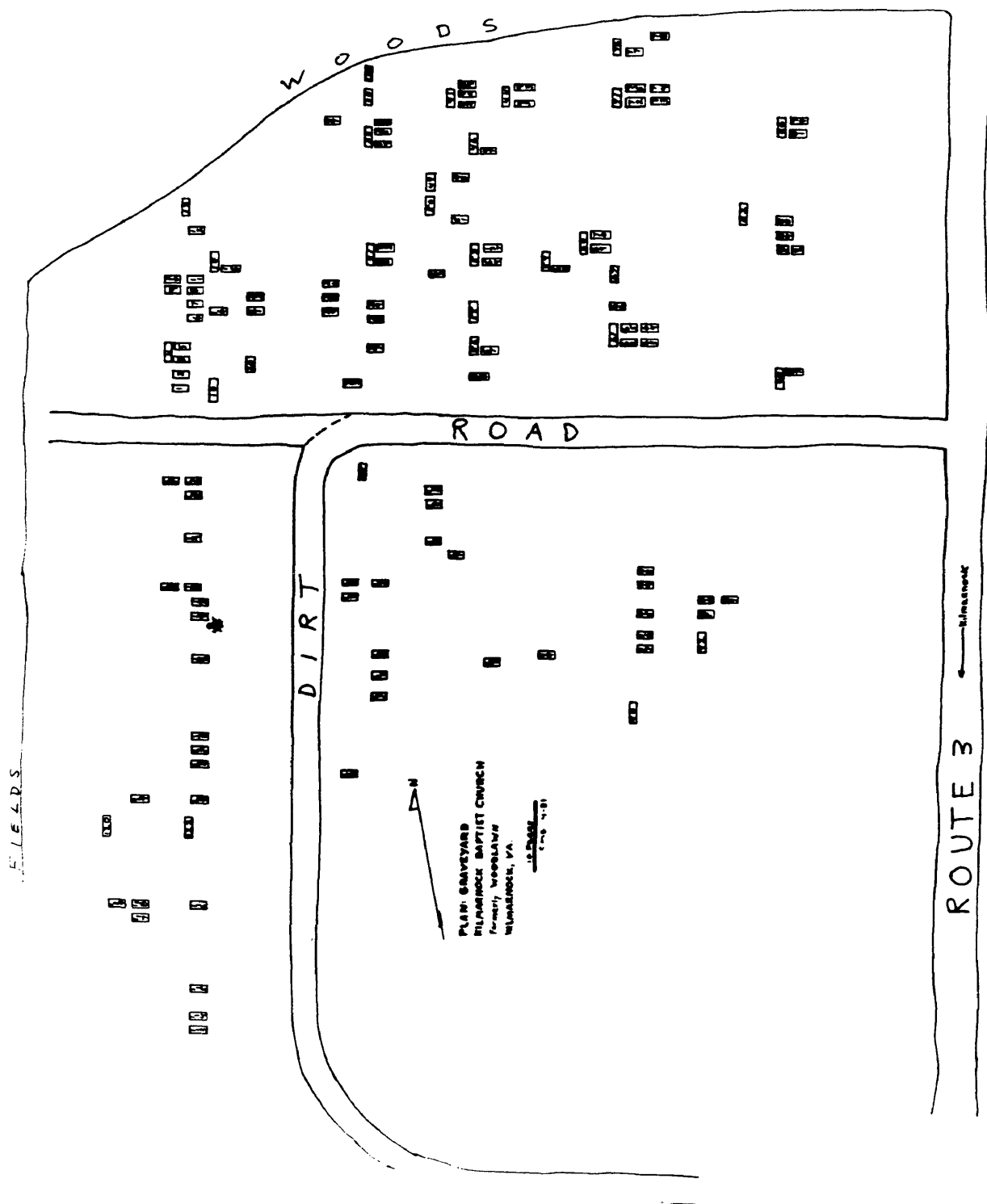


Plate 7. A white graveyard in Irvington, Virginia.

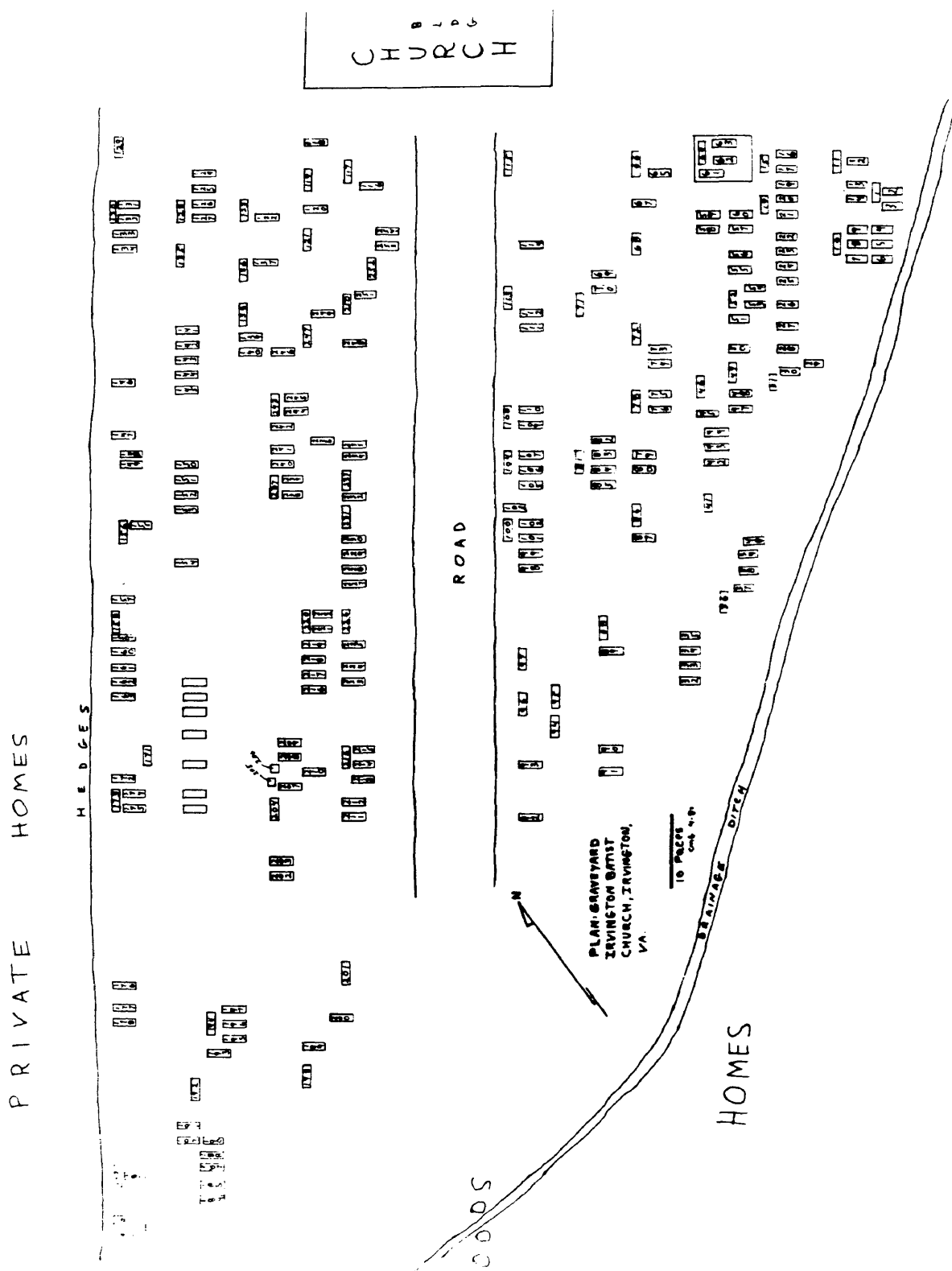


Plate 8. A white graveyard in Kilmarnock, Virginia.

## GRAVESTONE DATA SHEET

cmg 7-80

Location:

State/County 44 LA Name \_\_\_\_\_ Identification No. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Map reference: Quad \_\_\_\_\_ UTM zone \_\_\_\_\_ Easting \_\_\_\_\_ Northing \_\_\_\_\_  
 Town \_\_\_\_\_ Crossroads \_\_\_\_\_ Private \_\_\_\_\_ Road \_\_\_\_\_  
 Church \_\_\_\_\_ Denomination \_\_\_\_\_ Culture \_\_\_\_\_  
 General surroundings: \_\_\_\_\_

Individual Stone Information:

Stone No. within graveyard \_\_\_\_\_ Figure No. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Plot appearance: neat \_\_\_\_\_ okay \_\_\_\_\_ overgrown \_\_\_\_\_ jungle \_\_\_\_\_ other \_\_\_\_\_  
 Direction oriented: east \_\_\_\_\_ west \_\_\_\_\_ north \_\_\_\_\_ south \_\_\_\_\_ other \_\_\_\_\_  
 Material: granite \_\_\_\_\_ slate \_\_\_\_\_ marble \_\_\_\_\_ limestone \_\_\_\_\_ concrete \_\_\_\_\_  
                   wood \_\_\_\_\_ brass \_\_\_\_\_ other \_\_\_\_\_  
 Form: gravestone \_\_\_\_\_ ledger \_\_\_\_\_ tomb \_\_\_\_\_ plaque \_\_\_\_\_ coping \_\_\_\_\_  
           monument \_\_\_\_\_ cement vault top \_\_\_\_\_ other \_\_\_\_\_  
 Type (shape) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Dimensions, die: length \_\_\_\_\_ width \_\_\_\_\_ thickness/height \_\_\_\_\_  
 Dimensions, base: length \_\_\_\_\_ width \_\_\_\_\_ thickness/height \_\_\_\_\_  
 Finish, front: steeled \_\_\_\_\_ polished \_\_\_\_\_ rocked \_\_\_\_\_ design \_\_\_\_\_ inscription \_\_\_\_\_  
 Finish, back: steeled \_\_\_\_\_ polished \_\_\_\_\_ rocked \_\_\_\_\_ design \_\_\_\_\_ inscription \_\_\_\_\_  
 Carving: DH \_\_\_\_\_ Cherub \_\_\_\_\_ U&W \_\_\_\_\_ Cross \_\_\_\_\_ Geometric \_\_\_\_\_  
           flowers \_\_\_\_\_ human \_\_\_\_\_ animal \_\_\_\_\_ other \_\_\_\_\_  
 in family plot: \_\_\_\_\_ brick border \_\_\_\_\_ curb border \_\_\_\_\_ corner stones \_\_\_\_\_  
                   fence \_\_\_\_\_ other \_\_\_\_\_  
 Inscription: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 Footstone: length \_\_\_\_\_ width \_\_\_\_\_ thickness/height \_\_\_\_\_  
           material: same as stone \_\_\_\_\_ other \_\_\_\_\_  
           finish: same as stone \_\_\_\_\_ other \_\_\_\_\_ Type \_\_\_\_\_  
           design \_\_\_\_\_  
           inscription \_\_\_\_\_

Name: Last \_\_\_\_\_ First \_\_\_\_\_ Middle \_\_\_\_\_  
 Family relationship \_\_\_\_\_  
 Birthdate \_\_\_\_\_ Death date \_\_\_\_\_  
 Epitaph: \_\_\_\_\_ Religious: \_\_\_\_\_ Secular: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

Figure 2. Form used to record grave markers.

Next, I recorded each stone or marker or grave on the form I devised. (See Figure 2.) This gravestone data sheet allowed me to record a considerable amount of information about each grave or grave marker.

One problem I encountered in gathering data from the six graveyards has to do with sample size. I have recorded all the grave markers for each of my six cemeteries, that is, all the grave markers that I could see. This included mounds that were unmarked and it included grass stains which indicated rectangular plots or graves. As such, this data set is a total universe, but a total universe of only the visible, marked graves.

I do not want to suggest that this study deals with all people buried in these graveyards, for it does not. In Lancaster County, as in other parts of the country, many bodies were interred unrecorded in any surviving written document or with any grave marker. Also, many of the early wooden markers have disappeared.

The graveyards in this study are fairly recent, and there are few stones in any of the six cemeteries that date prior to 1900 as the death date of the individual, and yet the graveyards are quite full. (Henderson, personal interview, 1980.) Other informants have indicated that Claybrook, Beulah, and Mt. Vernon are also full of unmarked graves, but I suspect this is not true

for Irvington and Kilmarnock cemeteries. (Campbell and Horne, and Haynie, personal interviews, 1980.) New plots are being laid out in all of the cemeteries and more careful records are being kept by both the churches and the undertakers.

### The Statistical Package

The first step in quantifying the graveyards was to devise a code book that allowed me to transfer the information from the gravestone data sheets into a form that could be typed on cards and read into the computer. My code book appears in Appendix I.

The code is an extensive one. Each grave has the potential of over 90 variables though, in fact, few of them have more than half that number. The code allowed me to quantify the many detailed observations I made about each of the graves and their markers.

Second, I created a working disk file on the IBM 360/370 computer at the College of William and Mary which allowed me to organize and manipulate the data. This was done utilizing the packaged program known as the Statistical Analysis System, or SAS. (SAS User's Guide, 1979.) The final data set is stored on disk file and can be accessed for manipulation using the following instructions:

```

job card
// EXEC SAS
//GRAVE DD DSN=WHI7JPW.GRAVE.YARD,DISP=SHR
//SASLIB DD DSN=WHI7JPW.MAC.VALNAMES,DISP=SHR
//SAS.SYSIN DD *
DATA GRAVE; SET GRAVE.YARDS;
instructions

```

My final data set, called GRAVE.YARDS, is also on tape Number 001698 at the Computer Center, and can be used by anyone who wishes to do so.<sup>1</sup>

Once I created the GRAVE.YARDS data set, I then used the SAS program to produce frequency distributions of the attributes of the grave markers. These are discussed in detail in the chapter on quantification.

### Hypotheses

#### General

The overall question I wish to pursue revolves around cultural similarities and differences among the black and white segments of society in Lancaster County, Virginia. I believed that differences in the society were greater in the past than they are at present. To state this as an hypothesis leads me to the ideas of assimilation and convergence. The overall hypothesis that I wish to examine is: since 1900, black culture in Lancaster County

1. This tape (No.001698) is being rented solely by the Anthropology Dept. My data set used 191 feet out of a total of 2400 feet so that other data sets created by future students can be added to this tape. David Reed, the consultant at the Computer Center, can help in setting up and accessing the data sets.



has been converging with white culture. If this is the case, and if the underlying assumption that cultural differences can be seen in the graveyard is valid, then from 1900 to 1980, grave markers in black graveyards ought to become more like white grave markers in the same time period-alike in form, in construction material, in layout, in designs, in names, and in epitaphs. This is not to suggest that black and white culture meet and assimilate, but rather that there is a trend toward convergence, which suggests that society is beginning to unify and develop a common culture for all its members.

The assumption that differences and similarities can be discerned in the graveyard is commonly held by many anthropologists, archaeologists, cultural geographers, and historians. (Jackson, 1977, p. 236; French, 1975, pp. 78-9; Stannard, 1975, p. x; Francaviglia, 1971, p. 501; Jordan, 1980, pp. 255-6; Binford, 1971, pp. 11-12; Dethlefsen, 1980 and 1981; Hannon, 1973, p. 23; and Raboteau, 1978, pp. 83-5.) Philippe Aries, writing in The Hour of Our Death, perhaps the most exhaustive study of death in the western world yet published, summarizes the assumption as follows: "The cemetery has been-and may still be-the identifying sign of a culture." (Aries, 1981, p. 476.)

### Specific hypotheses

Specific hypotheses which will be tested in this study are the following.

1. Blacks as a group are poorer than whites, and this economic reality will be quite visible in the cemeteries.

2. When graveyards are located next to churches, blacks and whites are concerned equally about appearance and maintenance of their graveyards.

3. Differences in the perception of male-female societal roles and family structure are readily apparent in the respective graveyards, and illustrate that:

a. The role of mother is more prominent in black graveyards than in white.

b. Father is more important than mother in white graveyards.

c. When husband and wife are interred together, the inscription will have the male on the left or above the female more often in white cemeteries than in black.

4. There is a stronger religious connotation to the epitaphs appearing in black cemeteries than in white.

5. In terms of grave marker attributes, there are more similarities than differences in the white and black cemeteries.

## QUANTIFICATION AND PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

### Introduction

This section of the study presents a description of the data gathered from the six Lancaster County graveyards. Essentially, the descriptions are quantitative, listing the frequencies and percentages of the attributes of the graveyards and the grave markers.

The format I employed is to present a table of the variables which I feel have a bearing on the hypotheses I am testing. Associated with the table is a discussion of the material in it, how the material relates to the various graveyards, and includes possible reasons and explanations for the similarities or differences in the table.

### Form

Form is the variable name I used to categorize the most basic way in which a particular marker is differentiated from another. My code book lists 18 different forms which I found and distinguished in the six cemeteries in this study. (See Appendix.) Of these, the three most numerous are the tablet, the plaque, and the cement vault top.

FORM		WHITE	BLACK	TOTAL
Tablet	# %	350 50.36%	273 27.91%	623 37.24%
Plaque	# %	221 31.80%	32 3.27%	253 15.12%
Cement vault top	# %	37 5.32%	480 49.08%	517 30.91%
Ledger	# %	28 4.03%	7 0.72%	35 2.09%
Obelisk	# %	9 1.29%	3 0.31%	12 0.72%
Mound, depres- sion, stain	# %	23 3.31%	61 6.24%	84 5.02%
Funeral director plaque	# %	20 2.88%	35 3.58%	55 3.29%
Post	# %	2 0.29%	17 3.58%	19 3.29%
Comb. vault top & tablet	# %	0 0.29%	53 1.74%	53 1.14%
Other	# %	5 0.72%	17 1.73%	22 1.32%
Total	# %	695 100%	978 100%	1673 100%

Figure 3. Grave marker FORMS in the six cemeteries: # equals the number of actual cases; % equals the percent of the total white or black graves.

Tablets are defined as any upright, carved stone or wooden grave marker (as long as it is not a wooden post), and are usually located at the head of the grave. Tablets come in many shapes, or silhouettes, and some of the most common ones found in the six cemeteries are depicted in Figure 6.

Plaques are rectangular shaped grave markers, usually flush with the ground but sometimes are raised slightly, and are located at either the head or the foot of the grave. Quite often, if a plaque is at the foot of a grave, there is a family marker, inscribed with the last name, placed nearby. (See Plate 9.)

A cement vault top is a long, narrow (approximately 7.3' x 2.8'), and slightly rounded concrete slab which most often fits on top of a concrete or brick-lined grave shaft or vault. The top covers the vault and its contents. In Lancaster County today, virtually all caskets are interred in concrete vaults, and the grave shaft is filled with dirt. The visible vault top is then placed at modern grade over the shaft. (Personal interview, Mr. Haynie, 1980.) (See Plate 1.)

Other forms found in the six cemeteries in this study include: ledgers--flat markers that cover the entire grave shaft; obelisks--monument shaped markers; mounds--rectangular depressions, or rectangular grass stains that

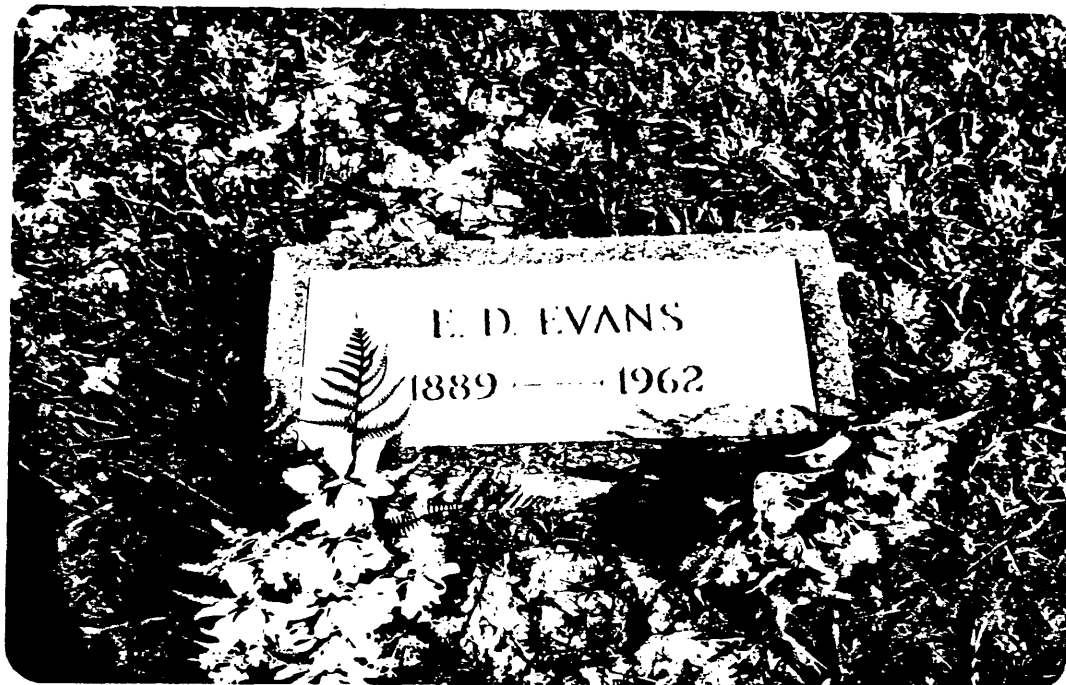


Plate 9. Examples of plaques from Claybrook Baptist. Upper is grave #98, and lower is grave #245, a child.

mark the location of a grave; posts--usually of wood though sometimes made of iron; funeral director plaques--small, rectangular shaped markers made of tin or aluminum (see Plate 10); or a combination of two or more of the grave marker forms described above. (See Plate 10.)

In three of the cemeteries, those associated with the white Baptist churches, the tablet form makes up slightly over 50% of the grave markers; when this is combined with the plaque form, the two together add up to over 82% of the grave markers. In the three cemeteries associated with the black Baptist churches, the tablet and plaque forms combined only add up to slightly over 30% of the grave markers. (See Figure 3.)

When cement vault tops are quantified, the white to black distribution is reversed: i.e., there are considerably more cement vault tops marking black graves (54%) than marking white graves (5%). (See Figure 3.)

Differences between white and black grave markers are just as evident among other grave marker forms, though the numbers are not as great as with tablets, plaques, and cement vault tops. Ledgers, for example, are found on a little over 4% of the white graves and less than 1% on black graves. Obelisks, which are not found after 1940 in any of the cemeteries in this study, appear three times more often marking white graves than black ones. (See

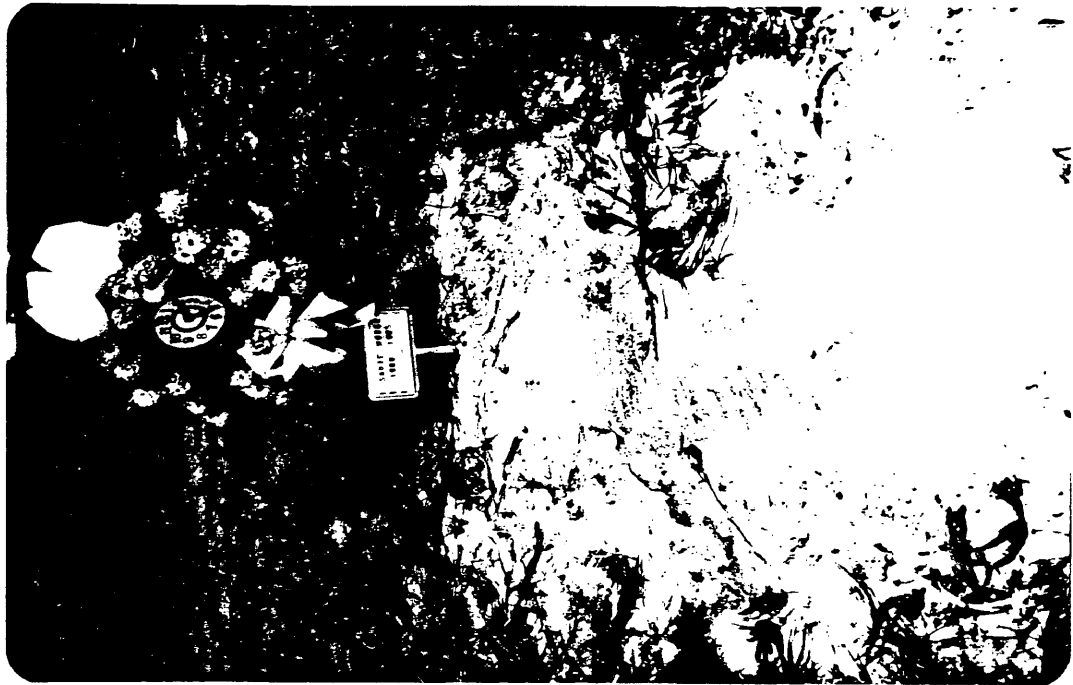


Plate 10. Examples of grave markers from Sharon Baptist Church. Top: shows a vault top with a small funeral director's plaque. Bottom: shows a combination of a tablet and vault top.



Figure 5.) Earth mounds, rectangular depressions, or grass stains mark 6% of the black graves and only 3% of the white graves. And, there are more funeral director's plaques appearing in the black Baptist cemeteries than in the white cemeteries. The same is true for wooden and metal posts. (See Figure 3.)

What are the explanations for these differences in the form of grave markers found in the black and white cemeteries? A reason often cited is economic. Tablets and plaques can cost a considerable amount of money. Usually the smallest and simplest tablet costs a minimum of \$300.00, and while plaques can be as low as \$125.00, most of them cost more than that. (Personal interview, E.W. Haynie, 1980.)

Cement vault tops, on the other hand, begin at about \$125.00 and rarely cost more than \$200.00. The funeral directors I interviewed indicated that blacks buy the cement vault tops because they are significantly less expensive than other grave marker forms. (Personal interviews, Brenda Horn, Quinton Campbell, and E.W. Haynie, 1980.)

Economic reasons are not the only, or perhaps not even the primary, considerations for the predominance of cement vault tops in black cemeteries. Mr. Elmore, of the Elmore and Haynie Funeral Home, mentioned that blacks

simply do not like to have grass or other plant material growing on their graves, but offered no reason for his assertion. (Personal interview, E.W. Haynie and Mr. Elmore, 1980.) Brenda Horn, on the other hand, said that the cement vault tops were an indication that the deceased's family had sufficient status within the local black community to bury "mother in a vault" properly, rather than deposit her in an unmarked grave. (Personal interview, Brenda Horn, 1980.)

The dominance of the cement vault tops in the black cemeteries in this study might be a modern, Tidewater Virginia version of an older African tradition. Gregory Jeane notes that West Africans commonly scrape all the vegetation off their graves and then make an earth mound. (Jeane, 1978, p. 902.) Terry Jordan, in a study of Texas graveyards, attributes the presence of clean earth mounds to probable African origins. "Latter-day substitutes for scraping abound, including cement paving, gravelling, and bricking the plot," but such methods are dying out. (Jordan, 1980, pp. 228-232.) A recent study in Barbados reported the presence of grave mounds and suggested they were relatively uncommon. In addition, the authors indicated that graves for the plantation slaves rarely had markers of any sort. (Handler and Lange, 1978, pp. 203-4.)

Michael Banton, though he was writing about modern African prophets, movements and revolutions, offers a possible reason for keeping the graves scraped.

...they should clean the graveyards and paths leading to them, for the ancestors were going to return the moment the whites had left the country . . . By the perfect cleaning of the graveyards and the paths, the people could show the ancestors that they were anxious to have them back. (Banton, 1963, p. 48.)

Another possible reason for blacks using cement vault tops is simply to mark the graves and prevent disturbance of the remains by later generations. Both Quinton Campbell, the local black funeral director, and A. Henderson, the volunteer groundskeeper at Sharon Baptist Church, have cited numerous instances of unmarked graves being disturbed when newer shafts were being excavated. (Personal interviews, Campbell and Henderson, 1980.) The black church cemeteries now have laid off marked burial plots to prevent this from happening, though the cement vault tops may have been a precursor to marked plots.

Whatever the reason for the cement vault tops, they are the dominant grave marker form for the black community. More importantly, they are a form distinctly different from the grave markers of the white community.

In the white Baptist cemeteries, the dominant form is the tablet, closely followed by the plaque. The plaque,

as noted previously, usually is associated with a tablet form inscribed with the last or family name of the deceased. (See Plate 9.) The tablet form is obviously a traditional grave marker form for the white community. It came to this country with the English and other white ethnic settlers and has persisted ever since, especially in the rural Tidewater Virginia communities. I assert this in spite of statements in many recent books and articles dealing with the denial of death by modern Americans. (Aries, 1977 & 1981; Jackson, 1977; Stannard, 1975; Dumont and Foss, 1972; and Wilson, 1980.)

It seems that the white community is much more concerned with locating and identifying the bodily remains of the deceased. I can offer no reason other than tradition for the white community to select tablet or plaque forms to identify the dead.

It seems to me that ledgers, obelisks, and the one table top tomb (located in Claybrook cemetery) mark the graves of high status individuals, or those who wish to appear to be of higher status. In the white graveyards, these forms seem to be associated with the wealthier classes. For example, the table top tomb in Claybrook marks the graves of the wealthy branch of the Kellum family. The few obelisks in the black graveyards are associated with ministers and educators. Both the black

and white segments use larger and more elaborate grave markers for high status individuals, regardless of whether the status is achieved through wealth or position.

As can be seen in Figure 3, both black and white graveyards have mounds, depressions, or grass stains to indicate the presence of graves. The appearance of this form of grave marker indicates to me the presence of graves which once had wooden markers now rotted away, and/or people who could not afford a grave marker. It is, of course, possible that some of these deceased people or their families did not want any form of grave marker.

When the time dimension is included in this discussion of form, I found that white people are using tablets and plaques with greater frequency as we approach the present. Plaque selection is increasing faster than tablet selection; and I suspect use of the plaque form will surpass the tablet form in the 1980's. (See Figure 5.) This increase in plaques at the expense of tablets and other forms is caused, I suspect, by the more frequent use of family plots, even if the plot is only two individuals. The tablet form will be used to identify the family, and the plaque forms will be used to identify the individual family members. Expense may be another factor.

In the black cemeteries, the frequency of tablet use has risen slowly throughout this century, with a dramatic

rise in the past ten years. (See Figure 5.) Reasons for this may be twofold. First, Campbell's Funeral Home is trying to get blacks to use tablets rather than cement vault tops, citing primarily aesthetic reasons for doing so. (Personal interview, Brenda Horn.) Secondly, the increase in tablet use may reflect the growing death rate of World War I and World War II black veterans whose families use the free military tablet form stones to mark the graves. I will have more to say on this subject later.

Figure 5 shows slightly more than ten percent of the cement vault tops (the remaining ninety percent were undated), and clearly shows a slow but steady increase in the use of the vault tops through time, except for a slight drop in the past ten years.

Figure 5 also shows that the use of plaques by the black population has remained fairly constant through time with slight increases in recent years.

### Shape

The shape of a grave marker refers to the silhouette or top surface, and is one attribute of the overall form a particular grave marker takes. The most common shapes of gravemarkers in this study are depicted in Figure 6.

The numerical data on shape are presented in Figure 7. The first category in Figure 7 is slight round.

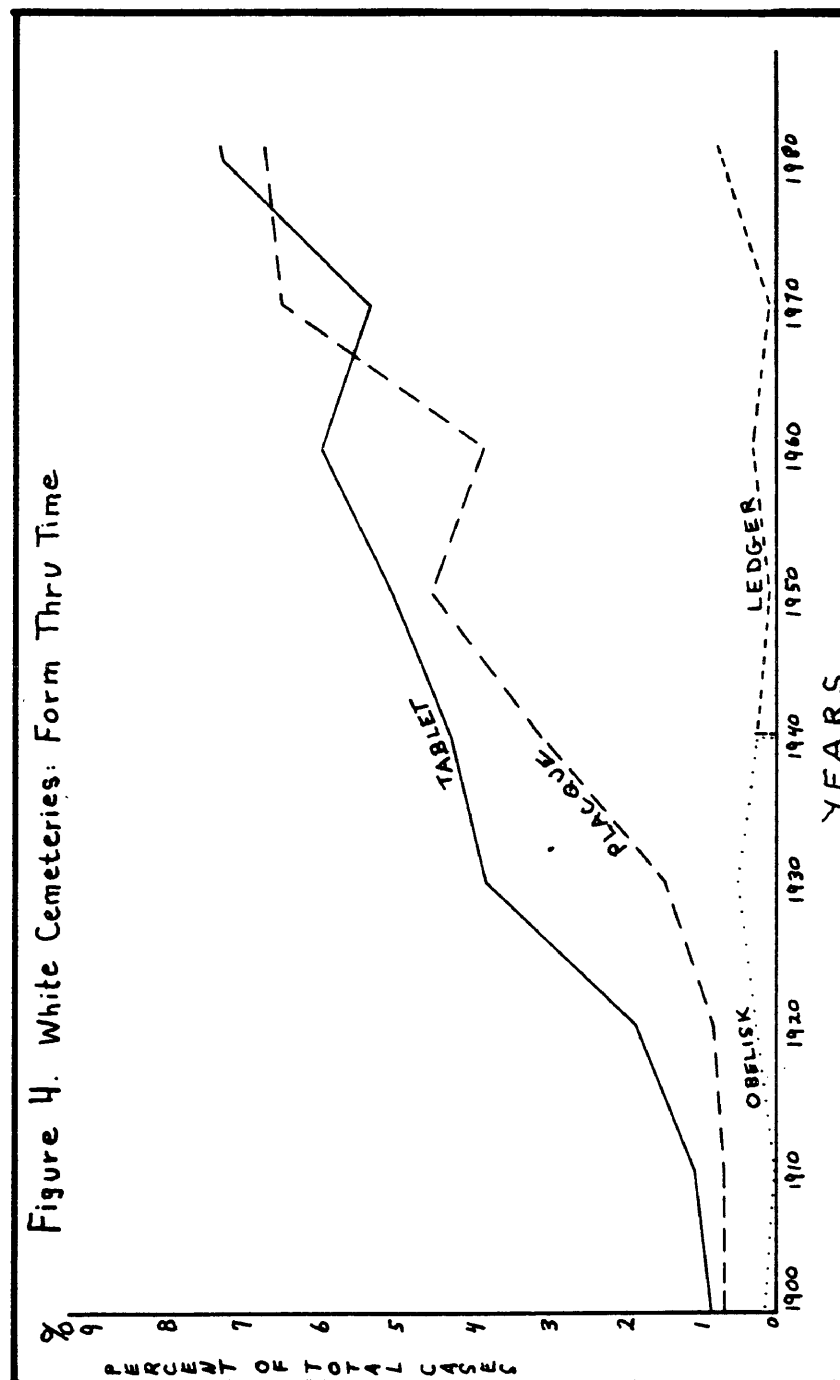


Figure 4. White Cemeteries: Form Through Time

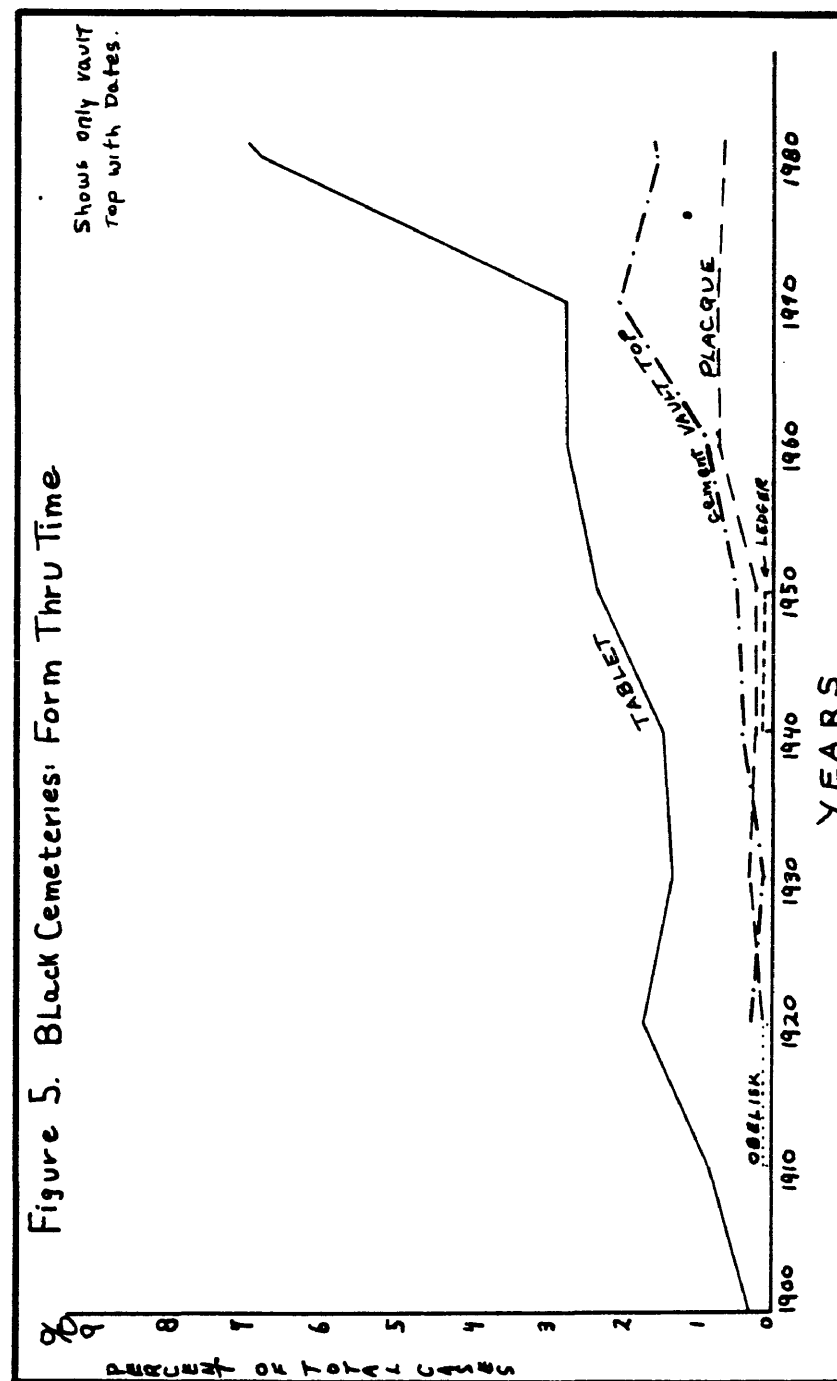


Figure 5. Black Cemeteries: Form Through Time



(I want to point out that cement vault tops have a slight round shape but they are so different in form from the upright tablets that I handled them in a special way in the table.) The first number in the slight round category is just the tablet form having a slight round shape, and the second number (in parentheses) includes the cement vault tops.

There are many obvious differences in shapes between the black and white graveyards. There is a slight difference in the slight round category when just the tablet forms are considered, but adding in the cement vault tops changes the figures dramatically. The slight round form appears 58% of the time in the black cemeteries and only 13% of the time in white cemeteries.

Three other obvious differences are apparent in the frequency of appearance of shape between the black and white cemeteries. In the white graveyards, nearly 40% of the markers have a flat shape, 15% are serpentine, and 13% are lecterns. In the black graveyards, 10% are flat, 4% are serpentine, and 4% are lecterns.

Black cemeteries also contain more round shapes, gable shapes, gable-with-flat-top shapes, and heart shapes than the white cemeteries. In addition, the black cemeteries have more grave markers in the 'other' category -- a category which includes posts, metal stakes,

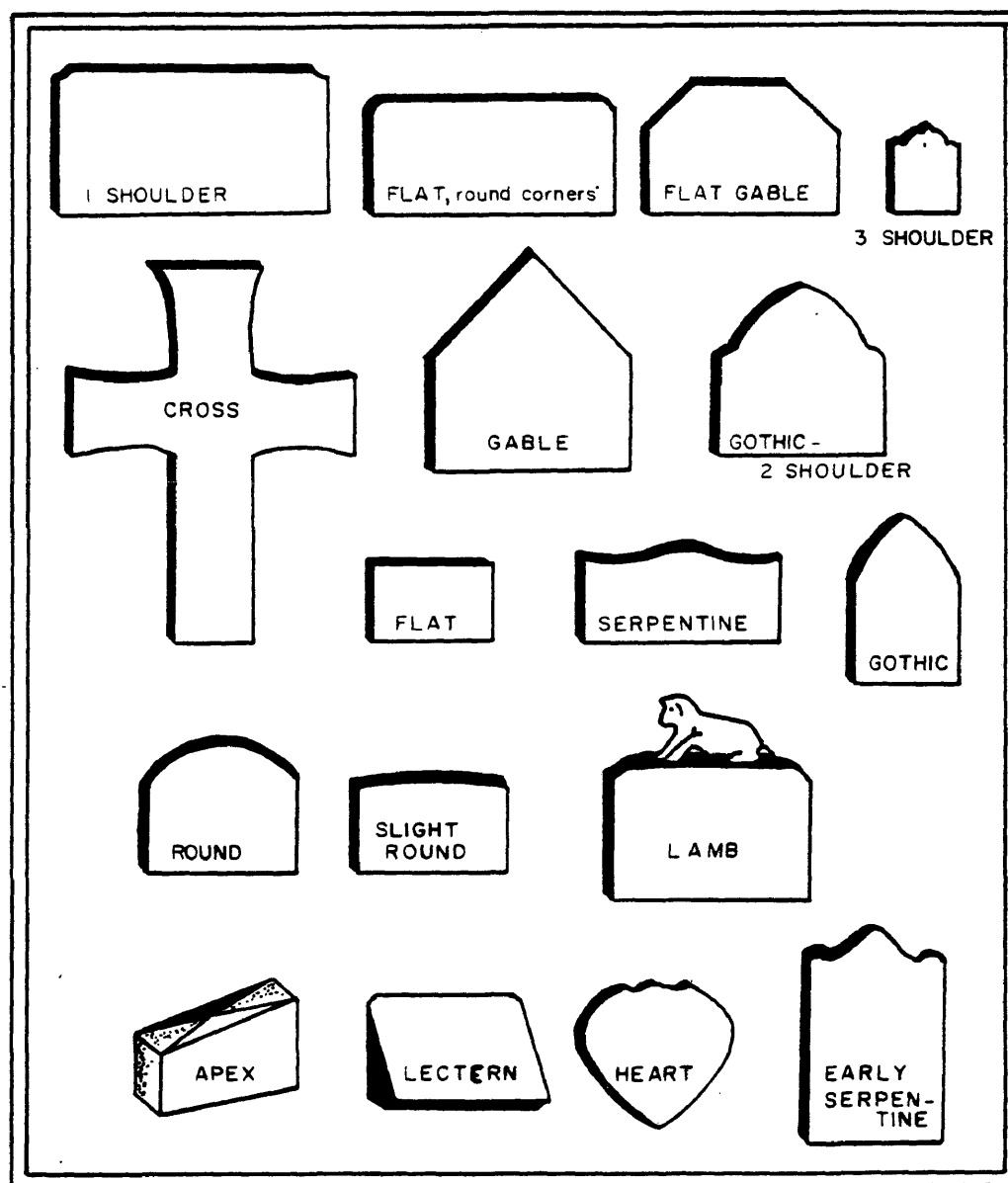


Figure 6. Common shapes found in the six cemeteries.

rectangular depressions, and grass stains. On the basis of these figures, it is obvious that there is a greater variety of grave marker shapes in the black cemeteries than in the white cemeteries.

Among the white cemeteries, a different kind of thing may be occurring. They contain more grave markers with two and three members, markers with built-in urns, obelisks with apex tops, and several markers with combinations of shapes. This indicates that white cemeteries have more elaborately carved and decorated grave markers than black cemeteries. Not only is this an indication of an economic difference, for elaborate stones are more expensive, but it may reflect a value that whites have to display their wealth and social position to other whites.

Explanations for these differences in shape are likely based on economics. The black cemeteries, as previously mentioned, contain large numbers of cement vault tops which are less expensive than grave markers with other shapes. One could ask, why do not the whites buy less expensive markers? Tradition may have something to do with this. Both the flat shape and the serpentine shape have numerous antecedents in the 17th and 18th centuries. The modern granite serpentine form is an enlongated version of an earlier colonial tablet form.

Shape of grave marker		cemetery	
		white	black
Slight round (incl, vault tops	# %	55 (92) 7.91 (13.2)%	90 (570) 9.2 (58.28)%
Serpentine	# %	107 15.40%	39 3.99%
Round	# %	12 1.73%	26 2.65%
Flat	# %	273 39.28%	103 10.53%
Lectern	# %	90 12.95%	38 3.89%
One shoulder or member	# %	0 0.0%	2 0.2%
Two Shoulders or members	# %	8 1.15%	3 0.31%
Three or more shoulders/members	# %	21 3.02%	1 0.11%
Urn: built-in flower container	# %	4 0.58%	0 0.0%
Apex	# %	5 0.58%	3 0.31%
Gothic	# %	1 0.14%	1 0.11%

(continued on next page)

Shape (continued)		cemetery	
		white	black
Flat with lectern top surface	# %	14 2.01%	5 0.51%
Heart	# %	0 0.0%	2 0.21%
Gable with flat top	# %	4 0.58%	11 1.12%
Obelisk	# %	6 0.86%	1 0.11%
Round shoulder with flat top	# %	6 0.86%	14 1.43%
Gable	# %	4 0.58%	12 1.23%
Combinations of above	# %	14 2.01%	1 0.11%
Other	# %	34 4.89%	146 14.93%
Totals	# %	695 100%	978 100%

Figure 7. Frequency table of grave marker shapes.

(See Figure 6; also, see Deetz and Dethlefsen, 1971; Dethlefsen and Deetz, 1977.)

The greater variety of shapes that appears in the black cemeteries does suggest something other than economics. It suggests a cultural tradition different from the white community, one with more individuality in their selection of the shape of grave markers. One might suggest that this indicates a lack of cultural unity or tradition within the black community derived from the breakup of African culture by the institution of slavery; I suggest that the greater variety of grave marker shapes has more to do with the emergence of a cultural tradition different from that of the white community. The boundaries of this tradition will have to be defined by other students of culture; I just want to point out that it can be discerned in the graveyard.

#### Construction material

Nearly all of the tablet and plaque forms were made of either blue-gray granite or white marble. In the white cemeteries, 67% of the grave markers were made of granite and another 10% made from marble. (See Figure 8.)

In the black cemeteries, only 12% of the grave markers were made of granite -- an expected figure since less than 30% of the forms were tablets. Interestingly, however, 12% of the forms also were made of white marble,

a slightly higher percent than is found in the white graveyards. The reason for this higher percentage of marble grave markers is because of the large number of military stones found in the black graveyards. As mentioned before, these stones are free to veterans who served in a war. Veterans, or their families, are given the choice of white marble, granite, or bronze markers. The blacks in this study overwhelmingly selected the white marble; since there is a choice of materials, some factor other than economics -- perhaps an aesthetic one -- is influencing the choice of white marble by the black population. (See Figure 10.)

Cement or concrete as a construction material is found nearly 7% of the time in the white cemeteries, and appears both as cement vault tops and as tablets. With the huge number of vault tops in the black cemeteries, it is not surprising that nearly 62% of all the grave markers found therein are made of concrete.

In percentages, there are nearly twice as many wooden markers (mostly posts) in the black graveyards as in white ones. Selection of wooden markers may be due to economic reasons; or, since wood decays and disappears, selection of this material may represent symbolically the life cycle with death and decay the natural end result. (See page for additional discussion of this idea.)

Construction material		cemetery	
		white	black
Blue/gray granite	# %	468 67.34%	119 12.17%
White marble	# %	74 10.65%	119 12.17%
Concrete	# %	48 6.91%	605 61.86%
Wood	# %	7 1.01%	22 2.25%
Bronze	# %	28 4.03%	4 0.41%
Aluminum/ tin/iron	# %	20 2.88%	37 3.78%
Red Granite	# %	20 2.88%	4 0.41%
Other	# %	40 5.67%	68 6.95%
Totals	# %	695 100%	978 100%

Figure 8. Grave marker construction materials: number of cases and percent to total cases of each cultural group.



Bronze as a construction material makes up nearly 4% of the white grave markers, and all are plaque forms. Bronze, while no more expensive than granite, appears very seldom in the black cemeteries. Since bronze markers are usually flush with the ground, it may be that blacks don't use them since they may want a more visible grave marker.

Nearly equal percentages of tin or aluminum as a construction material appear in the black and white cemeteries; and in over 90% of the cases, this material appears as a funeral director's plaque. It is worth observing that these funeral director's plaques tend to be associated with recently dug graves in both black and white cemeteries. In the latter, however, the plaque is often removed when the permanent grave marker is installed; while in the black graveyard, these plaques are sometimes the only marker present, for there are many old, rusty, unreadable ones. Also in the black cemeteries, these funeral director's plaques are kept as additional markers with cement vault tops or other forms.

The more unusual gravestone construction materials, such as red granite, and light gray or pebbly marble, are found mostly in the white cemeteries. I suspect the reason is primarily economic since those materials are significantly more costly than the blue-gray granite markers.

When viewed through time, differences between black and whites in the use of construction material are visible. (See Figure 9.) Both ethnic groups show substantial increases in the use of granite as a construction material as we get closer to the present; whites, however, have used more granite earlier than blacks.

The graph shows that the black use of granite is at a higher rate than the white use for the past ten years, and this may signify a new trend in the selection of grave markers by blacks.

The use of marble by blacks shows a steady increase over the past several decades, while its use by whites has been slowly declining. I suspect this trend will continue, and may increase as Korean War and Vietnam War veterans begin to die.

Bronze shows a slow increase in white graveyards, and is quite steady at a very low level in the black graveyards.

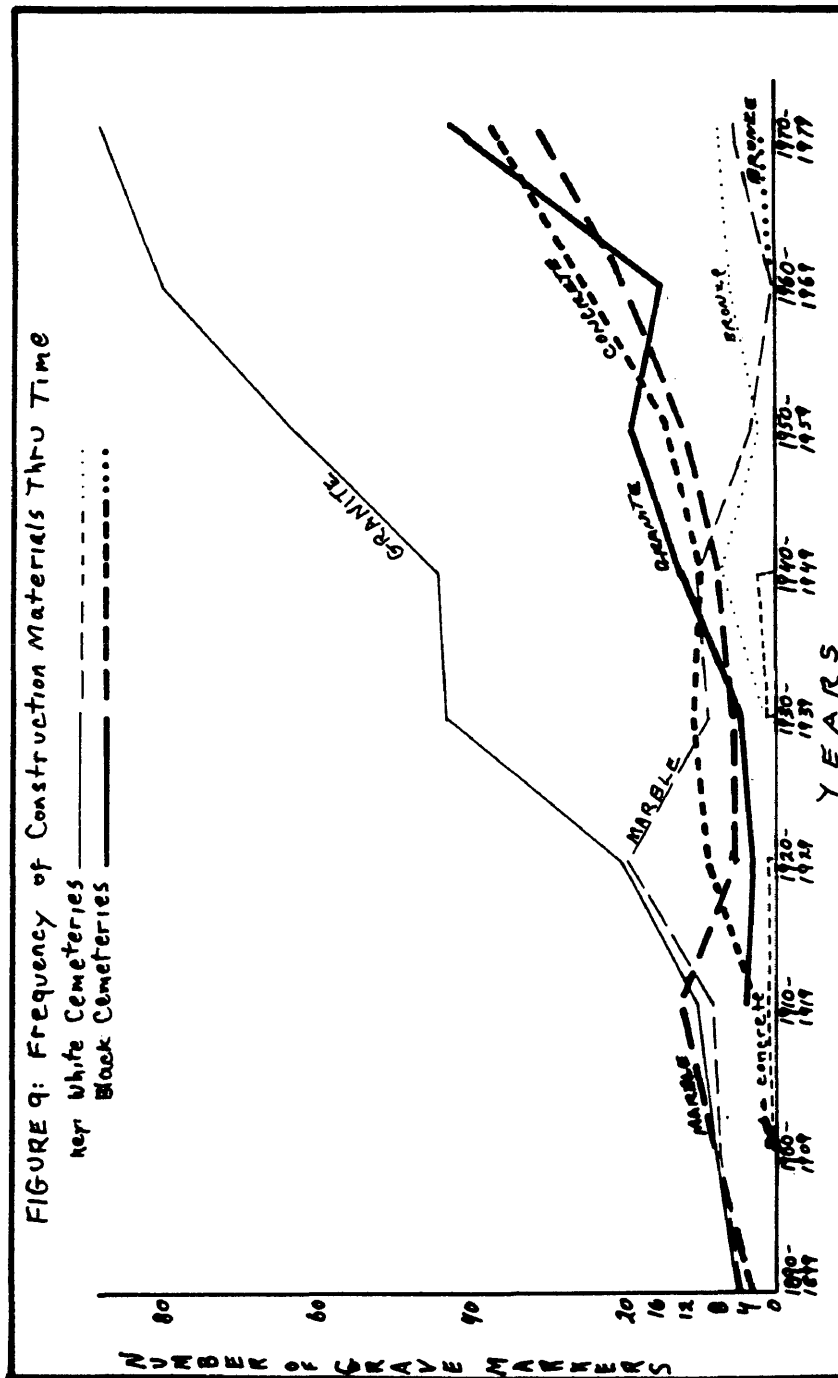


Figure 9. Frequency of construction material through time

The most misleading of all the construction materials is concrete. Concrete as a grave marker in the white cemeteries disappeared by 1950; in the black cemeteries, the use of concrete has been steadily on the rise. Both the rate and frequency of the rise in the use of concrete in the black cemeteries is not really as the graph depicts it, however, for only dated examples are counted. The vast majority of concrete markers have no dates. I believe that if dates were present, both the rate and frequency of concrete as a construction material would show up on the graph as a dramatic increase in recent years.

The fact that there are no names and dates on so many of the concrete grave markers is, in itself, a discrete observation having implications for students of material culture. Visible names and dates may not be important to the blacks. Remembering friends and relatives may take a different form, such as an oral tradition, from white grave markers. Hints of the existence of such an oral tradition came from unsolicited interviews with passersby while I was in the field documenting the cemeteries. Blacks were able to point out where friends and relatives were buried and name them even though no names appeared on the grave markers.

Another implication is that a grave marker with no

names and dates indicated probability that a black person is buried in the grave. This fact can be a key to identifying the culture which produced the grave(s) and, hence, the fact has archaeological significance.

There is another approach to the study of these concrete grave markers which I hope someone else will investigate in the future. Physical and chemical analysis of small samples of the concrete markers themselves probably would give relative dates to the individual markers, as well as give other information about the composition of the concrete which may point to centers of production and distribution.

### Design

Fewer than 30% of all the grave markers in this study have designs carved or inscribed on them. More than 60% of those with designs are found in the white graveyards, which is not surprising since designs are found primarily on tablet forms and most tablet forms are in white cemeteries. (See Figures 10 and 11.)

As with the other attributes discussed previously, there are obvious differences in the designs appearing in the white and black graveyards. Of the markers with designs, a floral design appears 62% of the time in the white graveyards and only 40% of the time in the black graveyards. The lambs and doves, designs associated with

Design		cemetery	
		white	black
Military	# %	17 5.41%	61 33.70%
Cross	# %	10 3.19%	10 5.53%
Flowers	# %	198 63.06%	72 39.78%
Lamb	# %	11 3.50%	1 0.55%
Dove	# %	2 0.64%	4 2.21%
Geometric	# %	12 3.82%	16 8.84%
Other	# %	64 20.38%	17 9.39%
Totals	# %	314 100%	181 100%

Figure 10. Frequency of the most numerous designs which appear in the cemeteries by ethnic group.

Grave markers		cemeteries	
		white	black
With a design	#	314	181
	%	45.18%	18.51%
<hr/>			
With no design	#	381	797
	%	54.82%	81.49%
<hr/>			
Totals	#	695	978
	%	100	100

Figure 11. Frequency that designs appear on grave markers in the cemeteries.

children, appear more often in white graveyards than in black. The white cemeteries also contain many more unique or unusual designs, such as pine boughs, gothic windows, gates ajar, candles, or combinations of many designs. These are represented by the other category in Figure 10.

The black cemeteries have more military designs than the white cemeteries -- 34% for the black and 5% for the white -- as well as more geometric and cross designs.

Also of significance is the fact that nearly 82% of the black grave markers have no design on them, compared to 54% with no design in the white graveyards. I suspect one reason for this is, again, economic. Designs cost money; military markers, however, are free. (See Figure 12.) Blacks who selected the geometric and cross designs may be wealthier than their neighbors; or, some other factor may be influencing the selection process. Additional research is needed to resolve this matter.

A second reason that there are less than 20% of the black grave markers with designs is that designs are difficult as well as impractical to inscribe on cement vault tops. Water would collect in the design lines and would hasten the breakup of the vault top caused by the seasonal freezing and thawing.

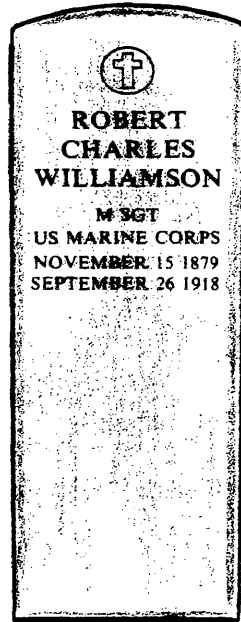
A possible reason for the appearance of floral designs on the white grave markers might be that the



## ILLUSTRATIONS OF HEADSTONE AND MARKERS

*NOTE: In addition to the headstone and markers pictured, two special styles of upright marble headstone are available - one for eligible deceased who served with the Union Army, Civil War, or during the Spanish-American War; and the other for eligible deceased who served with the Confederate Army, Civil War.*

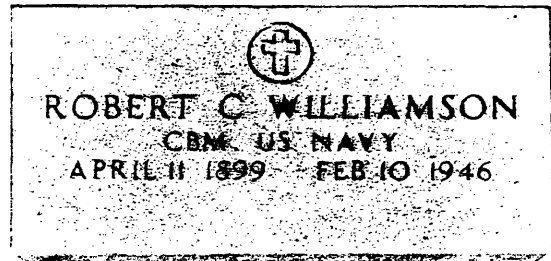
**UPRIGHT HEADSTONE OF  
AMERICAN WHITE MARBLE**  
(For eligible deceased except veterans  
of the Civil and Spanish-American Wars)



This headstone is 42 inches long, 13 inches wide, and 4 inches thick. Weight is approximately 230 pounds.

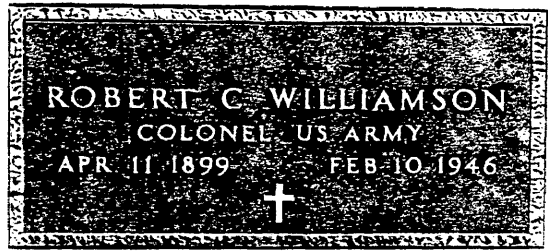
**FLAT MARKERS**  
(For any eligible deceased  
regardless of service period)

**AMERICAN WHITE MARBLE OR LIGHT GRAY GRANITE**



This marker is 24 inches long, 12 inches wide, and 4 inches thick. Weight is approximately 130 pounds.

**BRONZE**



This marker is 24 inches long and 12 inches wide, with 3/4-inch rise above the foundation. Weight is approximately 20 pounds. Anchor bolts for fastening the marker to the foundation are furnished with the marker.

## INSCRIPTION INFORMATION

The inscription for the types of headstone and markers illustrated on this page will consist of the following items:

1. Religious emblem.\*
2. Name of deceased (as requested by applicant, subject to space limitations).
3. State (of residence, birth, entry on active duty, release from active duty, or death).\*
4. Highest grade, rate, or rank.\*
5. Branch of service.
6. Medal of Honor, if awarded to the deceased.
7. Years of birth and death. (Complete dates will be used, if requested by applicant.)

\*Inscribed only if requested by the applicant.

Figure 12. The military grave marker form and design.

the whites now have permanently inscribed flowers on the gravestone and, therefore, do not have to visit periodically to place flowers at the grave. It might also be related to the white community not accepting the mortality of living things, of denying death, as I discuss later in the section on flowers.

Economics probably plays a part in explaining the presence of military designs in the black graveyards, as I have already mentioned. Other considerations may be just as important. Over half of the black military grave markers are found with other grave marker forms, usually cement vault tops, suggesting that identification of the individual may be of significance. It may be that the military was one of the few opportunities open to blacks from a rural southern community where they could achieve something otherwise denied them by white society. (See plate 11 for examples of military designs.) The military grave marker publically identifies the achiever.

One illustration of the importance of military stones to the black community was related to me by Mr. A. Henderson, the volunteer groundskeeper for Sharon Baptist Church. (Henderson, personal interview, 1980.) In the Sharon graveyard is a military stone with a design that I had not seen before. The inscription which reads:

Alexander Henderson  
Landsman  
U.S.Navy

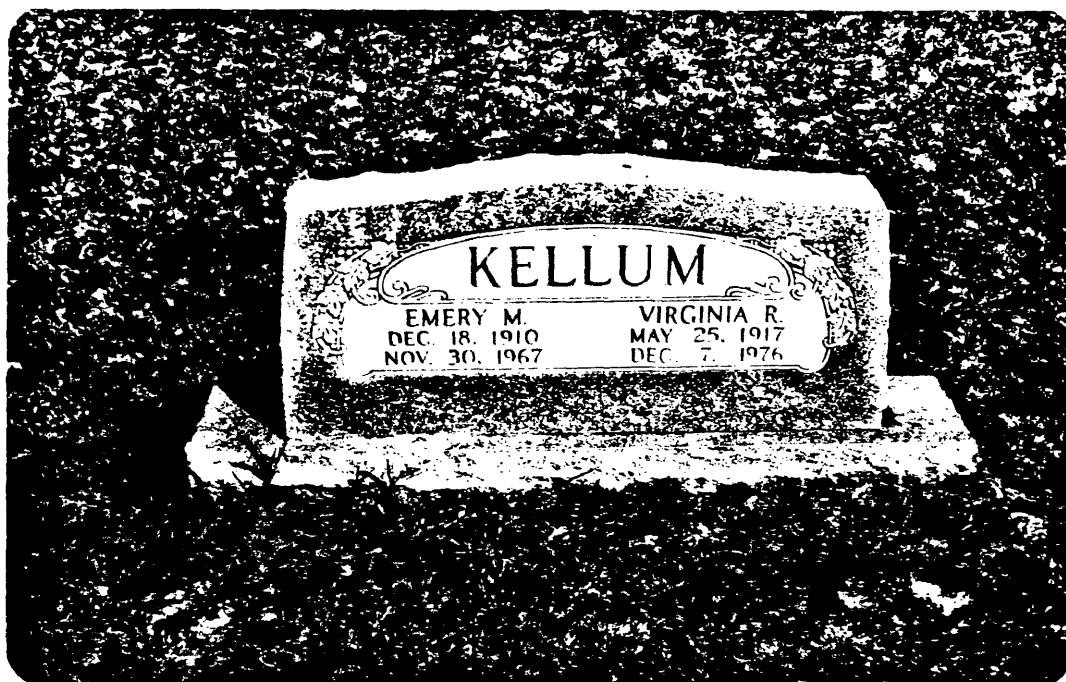
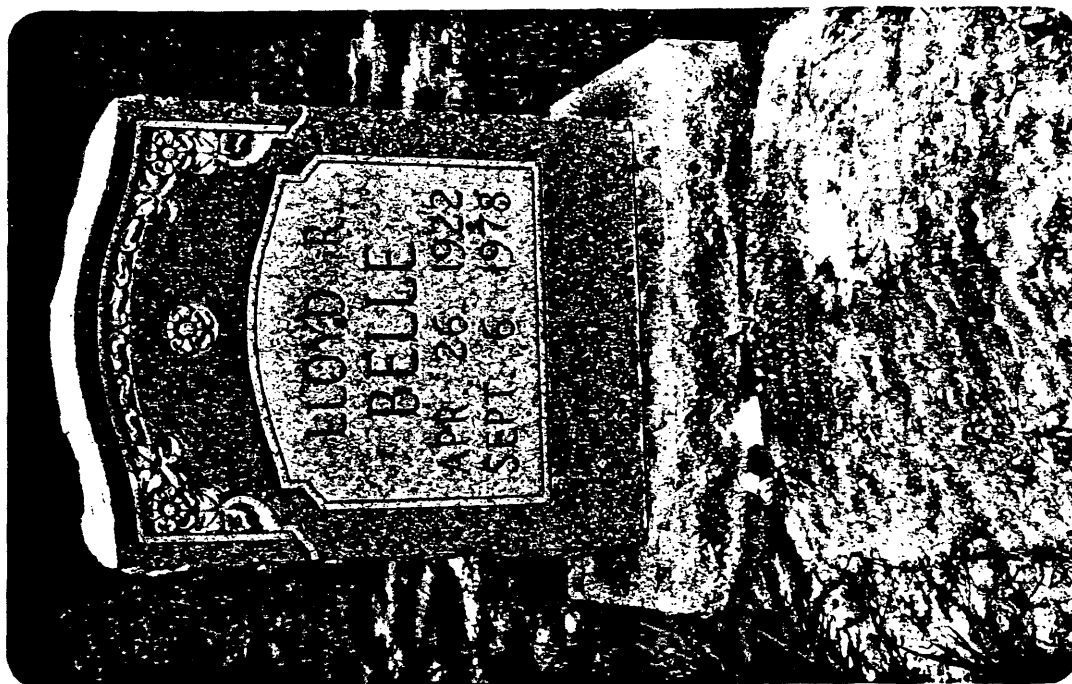


Plate 11. Examples of floral designs on grave markers.  
Upper: Mt. Vernon cemetery; lower: Claybrook  
cemetery.

was set inside a shield. (See Plate 12.)

While I was recording this stone, the groundskeeper approached me and said that Alexander Henderson was his grandfather. He had been a slave on one of the farms in what is now Weems, Virginia. Apparently, Alexander ran off one night, met with a few friends in the woods nearby, and built a rowboat. They rowed out the Corotoman river, down the Rappahannock, and were picked up by a Union gunship in the Chesapeake Bay. Alexander enlisted in the Union Navy, served for three years, and survived the Civil War. He returned home, raised a family, and his descendents still live in the area.

The National Archive provides support for this story. The muster roll of the U.S. Gunship, William Badger, taken on the 31st day of December, 1863, lists one Alexander Henderson. He served for three years as a first class boy, enlisted in the Navy on November 12, 1861, at Hampton Roads, is described as a Negro, 4'11" high, age 13, born in Lancaster County, Virginia, and was a plow boy.

Alexander's grandson, the informant I met in the Sharon graveyard, is very proud of Alexander's exploits, and it is very important to Mr. Henderson to have the military marker as a reminder of the past heroic deeds of blacks. He lamented that many of today's young black men were not interested in such tales.



Plate 12. Grave marker of Alexander Henderson, a military stone in Sharon graveyard.

A third design type which may be significant in illustrating cultural differences between blacks and whites is the lamb. There are only 12 cases of this design in all six cemeteries so I am suspicious of any conclusion. Since this design type is associated with children and 11 of them are in white cemeteries, it may suggest that children, especially very young ones, are not quite accepted as human by the white community. Black children are treated more like the rest of the people in the cemetery, i.e., with no design on their grave markers. (See Dethlefsen, 1980.)

Over 45% of the white grave markers have designs, and only 18% of the black markers have designs. This, of course, reflects the greater number of tablet forms in the white cemeteries since design is associated with this form. When looking only at tablets, 88% of the white tablets have a design, compared to only 64% of the black tablets with designs. Whichever way one looks at the statistics of design, white graveyards have more designs present than do black graveyards.

What are the reasons for the lack of design on the black grave markers, or what are the reasons for the white grave markers having designs? Designs cost money, so economics might be one explanation. Tradition might be another. White gravestones from colonial days to the

present usually have been adorned with some sort of design. (See Deetz, 1978; Dethlefsen, 1977; Jackson, 1977; and Stannard, 1975.)

The dead are not under the earth:  
 they are in the fire that is dying,  
 they are in the grasses that weep,  
 they are in the whimpering rocks,  
 they are in the forest, they are in the  
 house,  
 the dead are not dead...  
 (by Birago Diop, in Raboteau, 1978,  
 p.3.)

Little has been written about black graves, per se, and those studies which have been published have focused on grave goods, like shell or broken pottery, since these grave goods seem to be the distinguishing feature of black graves. (See Combes, 1974; Handler and Lange, 1978; Mintz and Prince, 1976; and Raboteau, 1978.) As some of these authors indicate, blacks seem not to care overly much about the deceased's grave once the initial mourning period is over, and lack of design may be an indication of this lack of concern. A plain marker or mound, often with no inscription, may be all that is necessary for the deceased's family and friends. There is a suggestion among present-day Africans that the spirit of the deceased soon inhabits other places, and similar beliefs might be present among blacks in the United States.

### Flowers

...passing the cemetery whose only punctuation are bunches of plastic flowers sticking out of the snow.  
(Brautigan, 1980, p.30.)

The picture Richard Brautigan paints of Montana graveyards whose only visible sign are plastic flowers is not at all like the Baptist graveyards in Tidewater Virginia. Here, plastic flowers are in evidence, but not where I expected them to be. My impression prior to quantifying my data was that the black cemeteries were full of brightly colored plastic flowers, and that white cemeteries contained more real flowers and the colors were more subdued. Figure 13 summarizes the actual results I found.

Black graveyards contain over twice as many real flowers as white graveyards, and the white cemeteries contain many more plastic flowers than do the black's. In terms of the presence of flowers, both ethnic groups have nearly the same percentages of flowers present in their graveyards -- 21.29% for the whites and 20.76% for the blacks.

One possible explanation for the use of real flowers by blacks and plastic flowers by whites may be that blacks more readily accept the reality of death. Kenneth Lindley suggests that flowers symbolize transience and using plastic flowers suggests this has been forgotten.



Flower presence		cemetery	
		white	black
Real and fresh	# %	24 16.22%	70 34.47%
Real but wilted	# %	6 4.05%	6 2.96%
Real, both fresh and wilted	# %	0 0.0%	2 0.99%
Total real flowers	# %	30 20.27%	78 38.42%
Plastic flowers	# %	108 72.97%	118 58.13%
Plastic and fresh	# %	10 6.76%	5 2.46%
Plastic and wilted	# %	0 0.0%	2 0.99%
Total Plastic	# %	118 79.93%	125 61.58%
Total Flowers	# %	148 100%	203 100%

Figure 13. Frequency table showing flower presence on graves by ethnic group.

(Lindley, 1965, p. 109.) As mentioned previously, many authors suggest that Americans are in a period in their history where death is hidden or denied. If plastic flowers, in addition to solving maintenance problems in the graveyard, symbolize permanence and real flowers symbolize transience, then the black community in Lancaster County might have a better grasp or healthier outlook on the realities of life and death than do the whites.

An alternative explanation is that whites are either unable, or simply do not wish, to return often to the gravesite. The relative permanence of plastic flowers shows visible remembrance but does not require frequent replacement, as do real flowers. In this sense, the use of plastic flowers might relate to the high percentage of floral designs inscribed on white grave markers. One question which comes to mind with respect to the blacks using real flowers is whether they return often to the cemetery to replenish the flowers after they have wilted and died. There are fewer than ten cases where this action seems to occur, which is about the same as in the white cemeteries. On the other hand, about 50% of the real flowers appearing in the black graveyards are perennial plants -- roses, boxwood, azaleas, and lilies -- which do not have to be replaced. To my mind this does

not make them like plastic flowers, i.e., permanently in bloom, for the perennials go through seasonal changes -- a kind of life, death, and rebirth cycle -- and so support the argument above.

The kinds of real flowers which marked individual graves showed some interesting differences between blacks and whites. (See Figure 17.) Blacks were more apt to use roses, azaleas, boxwood, and lilies, while whites tended to use daffodils, crepe myrtle, poinsettias, and combinations of flower varieties. Carnations and mums seemed to be equally divided between the two groups.

One might build a case for getting at the cognitive world of whites and blacks by looking at the kinds of flowers appearing in the graveyards and relating that to the symbolism represented by the flower. For example, the rose represents love, and the lily resurrection and purity, according to one funeral director's catalogue. (Beautiful Memorials in Marble and Granite.) To do so with this small a sample is risky at best, I think, and this would be especially risky with respect to blacks for their language symbol system is likely to be quite different from the white's. (See Abrahams and Levine, anthropologists who have studied black language and cognition.)

One very interesting difference between blacks and

Flower variety		cemetery	
		white	black
Rose	# %	6 4.05%	23 11.33%
Carnation	# %	10 6.76%	16 7.88%
Lily	# %	5 3.78%	10 4.93%
Mums	# %	3 2.30%	4 1.97%
Daffodil	# %	8 5.41%	4 1.97%
Azalea	# %	5 3.38%	10 4.93%
Boxwood	# %	0 0.0%	10 4.93%
Crepe Myrtle	# %	6 4.05%	0 0.0%
Poinsettia	# %	13 8.78%	8 3.94%
Other combinations	# %	92 62.16%	118 58.12%
Totals	# %	148 100%	203 100%
Christmas wreaths	# %	159 91.9%	14 8.1%
			173 100%

Figure 14. Frequency table of flower variety by ethnic group.

whites in their treatment of cemeteries occurred during the Christmas season. I had recorded both Claybrook (white) and Sharon (black) graveyards during the summer of 1980, and had not looked at them closely for many months afterwards. On January 5, 1981, while driving to town on an errand, I saw that Claybrook appeared to have sprouted an enormous number of flowers around the graves. A little further on, I noticed that the same was not true at Sharon cemetery. I then stopped and counted seventy-three Christmas wreaths at Claybrook and only seven at Sharon. As Figure 17 indicates, this same phenomenon was evident in the other four graveyards, even though they were recorded in February and March of 1981. I have no explanation as to why Christmas wreaths appear in the white graveyards and not in the black.

Grave goods (other than flowers)

Students of gravestones and cemeteries as well as students of black culture have long been interested in the presence of many different kinds of grave goods found on white graves. (See Combes, 1974; Dethlefsen, 1980 and 1981; Frazier, 1964; Herskovits, 1958; Jordan, 1980; Kremenak, 1980; Puckett, 1969.) Perhaps Albert Raboteau best described this interest.

The African custom of decorating a grave with the personal belongings of the deceased was also common in the rural South. Cups, saucers, bottles, pipes, and other effects were left for the spirit of the deceased; frequently these items were broken or cracked in order to free their spirits and thereby enable them to follow the deceased. (Raboteau, 1978, pp. 83-85.)

In the cemeteries in this study, personal belongings of the deceased, such as those described by Raboteau and others, seldom were found on either black or white graves. There were a few cases where empty mason jars or other kinds of glass and metal containers were found, which may have been used to hold flowers. Such containers were found in equal percentages in both black and white cemeteries. None of the black or white graves was decorated with small stones or with shells, as is frequently found along Southern coastal waters. (Combes, 1974.

Grave goods of various kinds -- old plastic flowers,

Grave goods		cemetery	
		white	black
U.S. flag	# %	1 2.87%	1 2.17%
Metal stand for flowers	# %	11 31.42%	33 71.73%
Styrofoam cross	# %	2 5.71%	1 2.17%
Plasticized photo	# %	0 0.0%	2 4.36%
Stone or brick (not pebbles)	# %	12 34.27%	1 2.17%
Wooden stake	# %	1 2.87%	1 2.17%
Combination of things	# %	1 2.87%	4 8.70%
Other	# %	7 20.00%	3 6.53%
Totals	# %	35 100%	46 100%
			81

Figure 15. Frequency table showing distribution of grave goods other than flowers, or flower pots.

bits of styrofoam, cans and bottles, bits of colored aluminum paper from old flower pots, broken grave markers, and other bits of trash -- were found along the edges of all the graveyards. Such goods usually were thrown back into the woods or under brush that lined at least one edge of all the cemeteries. There was no evident distinction either in kind of trash or in quantity of trash between the black and white cemeteries. Both groups hid, as it were, all kinds of trash related to graveyards in equal quantities in, what seems to me, an effort to keep their respective cemeteries relatively neat and trash free.

Figure 15 does show the kinds of grave goods that I did find in the six cemeteries. While the numbers are quite small, the distinction between white and black are evident. First, there are many more empty metal flower stands among black cemeteries than among the white ones. This suggests that people do come back to visit the grave from time to time and bring new flowers, either real or plastic, to attach to the stand, for in many cases the stands were attached to the grave marker so the groundskeeper could not remove it easily. Further study is needed to deal with this question.

Second, the white cemeteries have more cases of large stones and brick around their graves than do the blacks. I suspect their presence has to do with anchoring flowers



and pots no longer present.

Third, in two cases in the black cemeteries there are plasticized photographs of the deceased on the grave marker, and none in the white cemeteries. While the presence of two photos probably is not significant, it is the first time they have appeared in the County. Brenda Horne informed me that blacks are beginning to express some interest in this form of grave decoration, so the two cases might signify the beginning of a new trend among the blacks in Lancaster County. (Horne, personal interview, 1980.)

#### Names

Differences in last names might be an indicator of cultural differences in the social community in Lancaster County, Virginia. One might expect a certain degree of homogeneity among black and white communities with respect to last names and, in fact, there might be a certain degree of similar last names across ethnic lines if the black and white communities are becoming more alike.

Figure 16 shows that 90% of the white grave markers have names on them, while 43.56% of the black grave markers have names. The reverse is more striking; 56% of the black markers do not have names, while less than 10% of the white markers have no names.

There is a total of 331 last names in the six

graveyards in this study. In spite of the fewer number of overall gravemarkers in the white cemeteries, there are more different last names present in them than in the black cemeteries -- 187 last names in the white cemeteries compared to 144 last names in the black cemeteries.

The same last name appears in only 22 cases in both a black and a white graveyard. Thus, only 6.65% of the time does the same last name appear in both a black and white cemetery, which means that there are very few cases where the whites and blacks have the same last name, as far as the populations of these six cemeteries are concerned.

The last names Davis and Jones are the only names that appear in all six cemeteries. As Figure 18 indicates, Jones generally is divided evenly between the black and white cemeteries, while Davis is much more popular with whites.

After finding little similarity among the last names in all six cemeteries, I hypothesized that there might be a greater sense of community among blacks than among whites, and this might be reflected in the last names. If more last names matched across cemetery boundaries among blacks than whites, it might indicate a more cohesive cultural unity.

There are nine cases where the same last name appears in all the black cemeteries, and only three such cases in

the white cemeteries. In addition, there are 22 cases where the same last name appears in two out of the three black cemeteries, compared with 19 cases in the white cemeteries. (See Figure 17.) The greater number of matching names among the black cemeteries does suggest, though not strongly, that there may be a greater degree of kinship among the black community than in the white community. Conversely, it may suggest that among the white cemeteries (and hence white churches), there is a greater degree of individuality or separateness, despite all of them being Baptist. I began to look at individual names to advance this idea further.

Ashburn is the most numerous last name appearing in the white cemeteries, occurring 56 times in two graveyards. The next closest in terms of numerical appearance is Kellum which occurs 20 times, 19 of them in the Claybrook cemetery. Other names which appear ten or more times in the white cemeteries are listed below:

Haydon	(19)	Sadler	(12)
Davis	(15)	Willey	(12)
Abbott	(14)	Wise	(11)
Benson	(13)	Gaines	(11)
Jones	(12)	Jett	(10)
Lumpkin	(12)		
Total			(217)

This means that 13 last names (out of 187, or 6.95%) make up over one third of all the names appearing in the white cemeteries (217 cases out of 626 total last names, or 34.66%).

Grave markers		cemetery	
		white	black
With names	# %	626 90.07%	426 43.56%
Without names	# %	69 9.93%	552 56.44%
Totals	# %	695 100%	978 100%

Figure 16. Tables showing number of grave markers that have names on them by ethnic group.

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Ethnic group		three cemeteries	two cemeteries	totals
White	#	3 last names	19 last names	22 last names
Black	#	9 last names	22 last names	31 last names

Figure 17. Number of cases of last names appearing in more than one cemetery.

\*\*\*\*\*

Name	Sharon	MtVernon	Beulah	Claybrook	Irvington	Kilmar-nock	total
Jones	4	2	2	4	5	3	20
Davis	1	2	1	6	5	4	19

Figure 18. Number of times a given last name appears in all six cemeteries. The first three cemeteries are black, the last three white.

Except for Jones and Davis, each of the other last names above is overwhelmingly associated with one white cemetery. Ashburn, Kellum, and Haydon do appear in two graveyards, but in each case more than 80% of the time they are found in just one cemetery. The association of last names within one cemetery suggests that among the white community the church congregations form small, discrete social units, distinct from the larger Baptist community. It also suggests strong kinship ties within a given church community. This idea is only tentative and needs much more ethnographic, historical, and demographic work to support it. I will return to it in the next section on epitaphs.

Among the black cemeteries, Taylor is the most numerous last name, occurring 25 times. Carter is the next most numerous, appearing 18 times. Only two other last names, Morris and Smith, appear ten or more times in the black cemeteries, and they occur 11 times each. In the black cemeteries, therefore, four names out of 144 possible names make up 15% of the total named individuals. But each of these four names is divided among the black cemeteries, and they are not concentrated in one, as are the white last names which appear frequently. It, therefore, appears that the black names are spread more evenly among all the graveyards, while last names with

high frequencies of appearance in the white graveyards are associated with just one graveyard. This suggests, tentatively, that all the black Baptists as a whole form a relatively unified social group tied together by various degrees of kinship; conversely, the white ethnic group is composed of smaller social units (congregations) with fewer ties to the larger white Baptist community.

### Epitaphs

In the white graveyards, epitaphs appear slightly more frequently on grave markers than they do in black graveyards. Nearly 14% of the white gravemarkers have epitaphs, and only 8% of the black ones do. (See Figure 19.) One obvious explanation for this is that epitaphs are found on tablet and plaque forms and, since there are more tablet and plaque forms in the white cemeteries, there are more epitaphs. Cement vault tops do not have epitaphs on them in the graveyards in this study.

A second possible explanation is economic. Each letter carved into a grave marker costs money, and the lack of epitaphs in the black cemeteries may reflect a poorer economic condition.

A third explanation might be related to the absence of designs on grave markers in black graveyards. If design is not important (see Figure 11.), then epitaphs also may not be important. The lack of design and epitaph

may support Combes' idea that concern for the individual ceases after internment in the black community. (Combes, 1974, p.56.)

Another way to view epitaphs is to look at them in terms of religious vs. secular sentiments. I had attempted to get some idea of the feeling that people had when they selected their epitaphs. It was an attempt by me to utilize one aspect of material culture to find out about the emotional state of those using epitaphs on their grave markers.

To accomplish this, I categorized all the epitaphs into three divisions: secular, religious explicit, and religious implicit. I then assigned each epitaph I had recorded from each graveyard into one of the three categories in an arbitrary manner based on my own experience and reasoning.

I then devised a simple test to see whether my choice of categories was likely to be understood by persons most likely to read this study. My testing method was as follows: I prepared a list of a sample of epitaphs and asked a group of 70 persons to assign each epitaph into one of my three categories. (See Figure 21.)

The group of 70 people who took the test included: the graduate students in the historical archaeology program, Department of Anthropology, College of William

Grave markers		cemetery	
		white	black
With epitaphs	#	95	80
	%	13.67%	8.18%
Without epitaphs	#	600	898
	%	86.33%	91.82%
Totals	#	695	978
	%	100%	100%

Figure 19. Number of epitaphs appearing in the graveyards by ethnic groups.

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Epitaph type		cemetery	
		white	black
Secular	#	50	45
	%	52.63%	56.25%
Religious explicit	#	29	18
	%	30.53%	22.50%
Religious implicit	#	16	17
	%	16.84%	21.25%
Total religious (comb.expl. & implicit).	#	45	35
	%	47.37%	43.75%
Totals	#	95	80
	%	100%	100%

Figure 20. Number of epitaphs by type and by ethnic group.



Conrad M. Goodwin  
Feb. 1981  
Anthropology Thesis

EPITAPH EVALUATION

Please rate the following gravestone epitaphs in one of three categories by placing the appropriate number in the parentheses before each epitaph.

Categories: 1 - religious, implicit  
              2 - secular  
              3 - religious, explicit

- ( ) Gone, but not forgotten
- ( ) He/She was a good father/mother and faithful friend
- ( ) In memory of
- ( ) In loving remembrance
- ( ) With love
- ( ) Sunshine of our home
- ( ) At rest
- ( ) There is rest in heaven
- ( ) Asleep in Jesus/Christ
- ( ) One worthy of remembrance
- ( ) Of such is the kingdom of heaven
- ( ) Till we meet again
- ( ) Gone to be an angel
- ( ) Think of him/her as the same and say he/she is not dead, he/she is just away
- ( ) Pray for us
- ( ) Rest in peace
- ( ) Devoted father/husband
- ( ) Loving wife/mother
- ( ) Darling, we miss thee
- ( ) Tho lost to sight, to memory dear
- ( ) Forever honored, forever mourned
- ( ) A sunbeam from the world has vanished
- ( ) Thy will be done
- ( ) Prepare to meet me in heaven
- ( ) The Lord is my shepherd
- ( ) Gone home
- ( ) Mother/Father loved by all
- ( ) Loved and remembered and a friend to all
- ( ) Born in Cambridge, Md. ,indicated place of birth.
- ( ) Founder of Sharon Baptist Church ,indicated profession.
- ( ) Contributed by 2 brothers - 5 nephews - 4 nieces

(continued on next page)

- ( ) Sunset and evening star and one clear call for me and  
may there be no moaning of the bar when I put out to  
sea
- ( ) Sleep on mother sleep and take your rest we love you  
but God love you the best
- ( ) When the day of life is fled and in heaven wed joy to  
greet thee where no farewell tears are shed
- ( ) More and more each day we miss you. Friends may think  
the wound is healed but they little know the sorrow,  
that lives in our hearts concealed. By his  
sweetheart.

\*   \*   \*   \*   \*   \*

What is your sex? \_\_\_\_\_  
age? \_\_\_\_\_  
religious preference/denomination? \_\_\_\_\_

Figure 21. Epitaph form.

and Mary; the professors in the Department of Anthropology from the same institution; most of the undergraduate students in the Anthropology 201 course; several employees who work for the Department of Anthropology; and about ten members of the local Lancaster County community. The ages ranged from 18 to the late 60s; religious preference ranged from aetheist to Taoist; and the sex ration was 60% female to 40% male.

Better than 60% of those tested agreed with my own placement of epitaphs into one of the three categories, with one exception. Slightly over 71% of those tested rate the epitaph, Gone Home, as secular while I consider it religious implicit. For many of the epitaphs, better than 90% of the sample tested agreed with my categorization. These results led me to believe that most people will understand me when I categorize a particular epitaph as religious or secular.

Based on this categorical scheme, it does appear that black cemeteries have a slightly greater percentage of epitaphs oriented toward the secular than do the white cemeteries. Conversely, the white cemeteries have a slighlty higher percentage of epitaphs oriented toward religious sentiments. Statistically, however, these slight differences are not significant.

When looking at the presence of epitaphs found on

<u>Ten Year Periods</u>					
Ethnic Group	1890 1899	1900 1909	1910 1919	1920 1929	1930 1929
White	6	7	6	15	8
Black	3	4	9	7	7
1940 1949	1950 1959	1960 1969	1970 1979	1980 1989	Total
12	18	6	15	2	95
5	9	7	25	4	80

Figure 22. Number of epitaphs appearing in ten year time blocks per ethnic group.

grave markers in the black and white cemeteries respectively, I found that the black use of epitaphs began slowly but then remained fairly constant until the last ten years when there was a big increase in the use of epitaphs. The white grave markers, on the other hand, show more change in the number of epitaphs present in any given ten year period; i.e., there is more fluctuation up and down with the use of epitaphs in the white graveyards. (See Figure 22.)

My explanation for this difference between the black and white graveyards is related directly to the changes in the number of tablet forms appearing in the cemeteries of each ethnic group. For example, the black community's use of tablet forms in the graveyards was fairly even, except for the big jump in the past ten years. (See Figure 5.) The use of epitaphs by the black community follows the same pattern. In a similar way, the fluctuation seen in the whites' use of epitaphs follows the fluctuations in the whites' use of tablet forms in their cemeteries. (Compare Figure 22 with Figure 4.)

A total of 55 different epitaphs was found among the six graveyards. (See Appendix.) Only 12 of the 55, or 21.8%, appear in more than one graveyard, and seven of these appear in more than two graveyards.

The most popular epitaph is In Memory Of and a

# Graveyard

Epitaph	Sharon Beulah McVernon Claybrook Irvington Kilmarnock									
In memory of	#	1	3	7	7	2	2			
In loving memory										
Gone, but not forgotten	#	3	6	1	5	2	0			
At rest	#	0	2	2	4	4	0			
Good Father/devoted husband/ good mother/loving wife	#	1	0	0	10	1	0			
Asleep in Jesus/Christ	#	2	1	1	4	1	0			
Sunshine of our home	#	1	0	1	0	0	0			
One worthy of remembrance	#	1	0	0	0	0	0			
Till we meet again	#	0	2	0	1	1	0			
Darling we miss thee	#	0	1	0	1	1	0			
Gone home	#	0	0	1	1	0	0			
Rest in Peace	#	0	0	7	2	1	0			
Think of him as the same, not dead, just gone away	#	0	0	0	2	0	1			

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Figure 23. Distribution of the 12 epitaphs which appear in more than one cemetery. The first three graveyards are black, the last three are white.

variation, In Loving Memory. This epitaph appears 21 times in all six cemeteries. Gone, but not Forgotten appears 17 times and is distributed among five graveyards. At Rest is the third most popular epitaph, appearing 13 times in four graveyards. Variations of Good Father and Devoted Husband or Good Mother and Loving Wife appeared 12 times among three cemeteries.

I have mentioned the above four popular epitaphs to show an interesting pattern of distribution. When viewed ethnically, the first three epitaphs are divided evenly among the black and white cemeteries. This is not true for the fourth most popular epitaph. This last epitaph, which seems to denote parental love and respect by the deceased's family, appears 11 times in white cemeteries and only once in a black cemetery; whites appear to have more concern for parents' roles than do blacks. I will come back to this point later on.

#### Sex, Family, and Society

In both the black and white cemeteries, there are more adult males than adult females identified on the inscribed stones. The percentages of each identified sex within each ethnic group are virtually identical. In the black cemeteries, males are identified slightly over 54% of the time and females over 39% of the time: in the white cemeteries, males are identified in 55% of the cases and

females over 41% of the cases. (See Figure 24.) One can conclude that a similarity exists between the two ethnic groups based on the adult sex ratios. There are, however, other factors to consider.

First, in the white cemeteries 90% of the graves have inscribed markers; the ratio of total males to females interred -- a ratio derived from the inscribed markers -- is statistically valid for white graveyards. In the black cemeteries, however, only 43.5% of the grave markers are inscribed; any conclusion about the ratio of total males to females interred based on the number of inscribed markers is risky. My suspicion is that the percentage of males to females would increase slightly in the black graveyards, but I have no way of verifying this, short of excavation.

Second, when observing the family or societal roles referred to in the inscriptions, some differences between the two ethnic groups begin to appear, and are illustrated in Figures 26, 27 and 28.

With respect to family roles being identified on inscribed markers, Figure 26 shows that the percentages of markers with family roles is virtually identical between the two ethnic groups -- nearly 12% in the black cemeteries and nearly 11% in the white ones.

Some grave markers have two or more names inscribed



Inscribed markers by sex		cemetery	
		black	white
Children	# %	9 2.11%	17 2.72%
Males	# %	233 54.57%	348 55.59%
Females	# %	170 39.81	258 41.21%
Sex unknown	# %	15 3.51%	3 0.48%
Totals	# %	427 100%	626 100%
	(% of total markers)	(43.55%)	(90.07%)

Figure 24. Frequency of inscribed markers by sex appearing in each ethnic group's cemeteries.

\*\*\*\*\*

Inscribed markers with:		cemetery	
		black	white
a. With 2 or more names	# %	32 7.49%	81 12.94%
b. With only last names	# %	5 1.17%	78 12.46%
c. With family role	# %	51 11.97%	66 10.54%

Figure 25. Frequency of miscellaneous variables which appear on inscribed grave markers. These variables relate to family, sex or societal roles, but don't necessarily have any numerical relationship to one another which is why they are not totaled.

on them. Usually it is just husband and wife; in some cases, children or other relatives are inscribed on the markers. In the white cemeteries, over 12% of the inscribed markers have two or more names, while in the black cemeteries 7½% have two or more names. (See Figure 25.)

One difference between the two groups which appears is the percentages of grave markers with only last names inscribed on them. Nearly 12½% of the white markers have only last names. In some cases, the inscribed last name marker is the only marker for the grave(s); at other times, the first name and dates are inscribed on separate markers. In the black cemeteries, slightly over 1% of the grave markers have last name inscriptions. This difference in the presence of surnames may indicate a stronger emphasis on family connections or relationships in the white community than in the black community. The difference also suggests to me that the individual may be more important than family in the black community than in the white community.

Figure 28 indicates both a difference and a similarity between the two ethnic groups. In this table the number of grave markers with both sex and a family role is enumerated by ethnic group. Family roles inscribed on the grave markers include: wife, mother,

Family Role on inscribed markers		cemetery	
		black	white
Wife	# %	13 25.49%	7 10.61%
Mother	# %	14 27.45%	22 33.33%
Wife & Mother	# %	1 1.96%	7 10.61%
Husband	# %	4 7.84%	9 13.64%
Father	# %	8 15.69%	15 22.72%
Husband & father	# %	2 3.92%	2 3.03%
Daughter	# %	4 7.85%	0 0.00%
Son	# %	5 9.80%	4 6.06%
Totals	# %	51 100%	66 100%

Figure 26. Frequency of family roles appearing on inscribed grave markers within the cemeteries of each ethnic group.

Inscribed stones with role by sex		cemetery	
		black	white
Children	# %	9 17.64%	4 6.06%
Adult male	# %	14 27.45%	26 39.39%
Adult female	# %	28 54.91%	36 54.55%
Totals	# %	51 100%	66 100%

Figure 27. Frequency of family role by sex on inscribed markers in each ethnic group's cemeteries.

father, husband, son, daughter, baby, and combinations of these. Both the black and white societal segments have equal percentages of adult female roles identified in the cemeteries. Differences appear between the two groups in male and children's roles. More children are identified in the black cemeteries than in the white -- 17% to 6% respectively. And more adult male roles are defined in the white cemeteries than in the black ones--almost 40% white compared to 27% black.

Both ethnic groups have more adult female roles than male roles identified by inscription on the grave markers; yet, both ethnic groups have higher percentages of males than females memorialized in the graveyards. (See Figure 27.) This suggests that it is more important for both societal groups to define female roles than to define male roles, and also may indicate that male roles are implicit within each ethnic group. This similarity between the two groups may have something to do with male and female role perceptions and attitudes in rural Virginia society -- an idea which, perhaps, should be tested in other graveyards.

Another way of looking at the percentages in Figure 28 is to observe that in the black cemeteries there are twice as many adult female roles than male roles identified on the inscribed stones. In the white

cemeteries, the ratio of female to male roles is not as strong as the two-to-one ratio in the black cemeteries. These percentages indicate that females are more prominent than males, as far as family role is concerned, in the black society than in white society.

As previously indicated, the adult female family roles inscribed on the grave markers in this study are: wife, mother, and wife and mother. In the white cemeteries, mother is the most numerous of the three roles (33.3%), and the other two roles are equal with 10.6%. In the black cemeteries, mother is also the most numerous family role comprising 27.4% of the total and wife is a close second at 25.4%. The combination of wife and mother appears only once in the black cemeteries. (See Figure 26.)

In the black community the fact that mother is the most numerous and wife the second most numerous family role, while the combination wife and mother is almost nonexistent, suggests a different family structure operating for blacks that for whites. Two ideas suggest themselves. First, there are fewer married black women with children than there are white women in similar circumstances. Second, there is a high incidence of children outside marriage among the black community than the white community. Carol Stack has pointed out that child-bearing

and child-rearing very often occur outside of marriage among poor urban blacks. (Stack 1974:62-89.) Further study in other graveyards may verify that analysis of cemeteries can produce reliable data about family structure. More important, however, is the potential for prediction. It might be easier and less expensive to predict trends about family structure from graveyards than from interviewing or through census documentation.

The adult male family roles inscribed on the grave markers are: father, husband, and husband and father. In the white cemeteries, father is the most numerous with 22.7%; husband is second with 13.6%; and there are only two cases of husband and father. In the black cemeteries, father is found 15.6% of the time; husband, 7.8%; and husband and father again only twice. (See Figure 26.) The adult male roles do not appear substantially different between the two ethnic groups; there are just a few more of them identified in the white cemeteries.

Of equal interest are the children's roles. Figure 27 indicates that in the black cemeteries nine children (17.6%) have any role distinguishable by sex, and Figure 27 shows that the two sexes are represented nearly equally -- 9.8% for son and 7.8% for daughter. All of the children identified with an inscription in the black cemeteries are also identified both by sex and by family role.

Something different is occurring in the white graveyards. The marker inscriptions indicate that at least 17 children are interred (See Figure 24), but only four of these are identified either by sex or by family role -- and these four are all males. (see Figures 26 and 27.)

In the black cemeteries children are identified by sex and family role; in the white cemeteries, few of the children are so described. This may be further evidence for Dethlefsen's assertion that blacks treat children more like people than do whites. (See Dethlefsen, 1980.)

To this point, demonstrating differences between blacks and whites with respect to sex and family roles is rather inconclusive. Looking at a few other variables may help clarify the matter.

Another way to view male and female roles in the graveyard has to do with the relative position of each sex to the other. For example, Dethlefsen writes that in New England cemeteries when the names of husband and wife appear on the same stones (twentieth century stones), the wife lies on the husband's left 75% of the time. In the middle South, however, the placement of the wife with respect to husband appears to be random. (Dethlefsen, 1980.) In Texas cemeteries, Jordan indicates that the wife is usually on the left side of the husband in the



Sex location		cemeteries		
		white	black	totals
Wife on left (right on marker to viewer)	#	208	52	260
	%	68.65%	55.91%	65.66%
Wife on right	#	95	37	132
	%	31.35%	39.79%	33.33%
Wife at head or foot	#	0	4	4
	%	0.00%	4.30%	1.01%
Totals	#	303	93	396
	%	100%	100%	100%

Figure 28. Distribution by ethnic group of husband-wife placement in six Lancaster County, Va., Baptist cemeteries.

Parent/child location		cemeteries		
		white	black	total
Child to left of parent (right on marker to viewer)	#	27	11	38
	%	42.86%	52.38%	45.24%
Child to right	#	25	5	30
	%	39.68%	23.81%	35.71%
Child at foot	#	8	3	11
	%	12.70%	14.29%	13.10%
Child at head	#	3	2	5
	%	4.76%	9.52%	5.95%
Totals	#	63	21	84
	%	100%	100%	100%

Figure 29. Frequency table showing the location of children with respect to parents in the cemeteries by ethnic group.

white ethnic group, but other ethnic groups do not use this sex positioning. (Jordan, 1980:247.)

In the white cemeteries in this study, the wife appears on the husband's left (it is on the right side of the marker when one reads the inscription) 68% of the time, and on the husband's right about 31% of the time. In the black cemeteries, the wife lies on the husband's left nearly 56% of the time; on the husband's right nearly 40% of the time; and to the head or foot of the husband over 4% of the time. (See Figure 28.) The Lancaster County cemeteries in this study certainly agree with Dethlefsen's and Jordan's results on white cemeteries as far as husband-wife positioning is concerned. The cemeteries also indicate a difference between the two ethnic groups. Even a casual reader of this study will discover that there seems to be a disparity between Figure 28 and Figures 26 and 27. There are many more husbands and wives in Figure 28 than in the other two. The reason is that Figures 26 and 27 portray only those family roles which are actually inscribed on the grave markers, while Figure 28 shows the positional relationship of husband and wife of all the markers where names and dates appear. In these latter cases, I have inferred the husband-wife relationship (hence positioning) based on names and dates inscribed on the markers, and did not rely on having the

family role inscribed.

Why does the wife appear on the husband's left side in the white cemeteries? Jordan goes so far as to suggest that it may be biblical in origin. Eve was created from the left side of Adam, and because of the apple tempting incident, the left side and being female have evil connotations. (Jordan, 1980, p. 247.) In white marriage ceremonies, whether religious or civil, the bride is usually placed on the groom's left. Positioning found in white graveyards may simply be following the traditional placement of sexes learned in earlier important events or rites.

Placing the wife on the husband's left may be some indication of some form of dominance, or representation of dominance or superiority on the part of males. As such, the respective positions of husbands and wives found in the cemetery may reflect, or be symbolic of, similar positioning in the society as a whole. As noted, this wife-on-the-left position is more prevalent in white cemeteries than in black, and it may indicate that white husbands play a stronger role, or have a more dominant position, than do black males.

As far as the children's position vis-a-vis parents is concerned, there is an apparent difference between the white and black cemeteries. In the white graveyards, the

child is placed either on the right or the left side of the parent in almost an equal number of cases, and is sometimes placed at the head or foot. Among the black graveyards, however, the child is placed on the left side of the parents 52.4% of the time, on the right side 23.8%, and either to the head or foot of the parents' grave 23.8% of the time. I can offer no explanation why this apparent difference between whites and blacks exists and would welcome suggestions. (See Figure 29.)

Another variable to consider in this discussion of sex, family and society is family plots. For this study I define a family plot as two or more graves adjacent to one another, but not necessarily set off with corner stones or some other plot marker. In most cases, the family connection is obvious because of the names of the individuals inscribed on the grave markers; in other cases, the family association is inferred primarily from the distance separating the two or more graves. The closer the graves, the more likelihood there is of a family association. I readily admit that this is a hypothesis that needs better testing than I gave it. My inference is based on the fact that graves with inscribed markers having family associations are closer than inscribed markers without such associations. I did not, however, physically measure the distances between

Family plots		cemeteries		
		white	black	totals
With no markers	#	273	74	347
	%	57.35%	42.05%	53.22%
With corner stones	#	196	81	277
	%	41.18%	46.02%	42.48%
With *other markers	#	7	21	28
	%	1.47%	11.93%	4.29%
Totals	#	476	176	652
	%	100%	100%	100%

Figure 30. Distribution of family plots in the graveyards by ethnic group.

\* Other markers include such things as hedges or floral borders around the plots; iron fences; wooden posts; or brick walls.

inscribed family markers and compare them with measured distances between what I am calling uninscribed family markers. This remains to be done either to refute or affirm my inferences.

In the white cemeteries, slightly over 67% of the graves are in family plots, while in the black cemeteries only 18% are in family plots. (See Figure 30.) On the surface, this seems to indicate that families or family ties are more important to whites than to blacks. There are, however, additional factors to consider. First, most of the white family plots consist of only husband and wife, i.e., just two graves adjacent to one another, and while a large number of these have corner stones (28%), they are still only two-grave family plots. This relationship of just two graves per family plot seems to be the dominant one in the white cemeteries in this study.

Second, the black cemeteries have more family plots that are larger in size, i.e., they contain more graves in them than do the white cemeteries. The third category in Figure 30 (the \*other marker) shows that nearly 12% of the black family plots have more than two persons memorialized compared to 1.47% for the white family plots. These larger family plots include (often) a husband and wife, one or more children, one or more parents, and sometimes siblings of the primary couple. The presence of these

larger family plots suggests that larger family units (one beyond the nuclear family of husband-wife-child) may be more important to blacks than to whites.

Some support for this suggestion comes from ethnographic data. Several times when I was in the field documenting the cemeteries, parishioners of the church stopped to see what I was doing. In the course of conversation, I found out that most of the blacks knew where all their family members were buried; the whites either did not know, or did not relate, similar information. Admittedly the results of these unsolicited interviews are impressionistic, and the hypotheses that larger family units are more important to blacks than to whites needs further, more rigorous testing.

The difference between blacks and whites with regard to family plots appears to be that while whites have more family plots, they are on the nuclear family level. Blacks, on the other hand, have fewer family plots, but have more plots which contain larger family units than whites.



## CONCLUSION

As stated at the beginning of this study, the overall question I am investigating is whether black and white cultures are converging and developing a commonly held, shared system of beliefs, ideas, and things (material culture). In short, is culture in this rural community becoming unified? Before addressing this broad question, I will discuss my conclusions about the specific hypotheses under investigation in this study with respect to the quantified results in the body of this study.

First, a further word about statistics. The data derived from the cemeteries are unordered, categorical, and are derived from the presence or absence of a particular trait on any given grave marker. The data are presented in raw numbers in frequency distribution tables in the body of the paper. In many cases the frequency tables themselves provide a clear indication of difference between the black and white societal segments. In other cases, the differences are not so clear and/or the number of cases is quite small. To help clarify these latter instances, I have employed the chi-square test, and a summary table of the results of these chi-square tests is presented in Figure 31. The null hypothesis in all the

Figure #	x <sup>2</sup>	df	significance level	distribution of x <sup>2</sup> table	null hypothesis rejected
13	21.2	1	.05	3.841	yes
14	36.04	9	.05	16.919	yes
15	24.16	7	.05	14.067	yes
19	132.68	1	.05	3.841	yes
20	1.6	2	.05	5.991	no
25	14.2	3	.05	7.815	yes
26a	7.85	1	.05	3.841	yes
26c	0.39	1	.05	3.841	no
27	15.38	7	.05	14.067	yes
28	4.67	2	.05	5.991	no
29	35.97	2	.05	5.991	yes
30	2.06	3	.05	7.815	no
31	39.10	2	.05	5.991	yes

Figure 31. Results of chi-square tests performed on selected frequency distribution tables. The figure number in the above table refers the reader to the appropriate frequency distribution table.

chi-square tests states: there is no difference between blacks and whites in the cemetery with respect to the attribute being tested.

Hypothesis 1. Black graveyard markers are an indication of an overall poorer economic condition for black people when compared to white people in Lancaster County, Va. The assumption underlying this hypothesis is that grave markers indicate economic condition and that the amount of money spent on grave markers reflects the economic condition.

The evidence from the two major funeral director firms in Lancaster County, Va., supports this hypothesis. (Haynie; Cambell, and Horne; personal interviews, 1980.) Cement vault tops are about half the cost of stone tablet forms, and Figure 3 shows that better than 50% of the black graves are marked with cement vault tops. The vast majority of the white graves are marked with more expensive forms. I conclude, therefore, that economic status plays a significant, though not the only, role in the selection of grave markers by the black and white communities. Since the black community selects less expensive markers than the white community, it is likely that the black community is less well off than the white community.

Hypothesis 2. When graveyards are located next to

churches, blacks and whites are concerned equally about appearance and maintenance of their graveyards. Close visual study of the six graveyards in this study supports this hypothesis. The overall appearance of all the cemeteries is one of neatness, and reflects regular maintenance. All of the graveyards have some landscaping in the form of trees and shrubs, some of which mark individual graves and some which are scattered throughout the cemeteries. Cedars are present in all six graveyards. The black cemeteries tend to have older, larger trees, mostly oak and gum, but one white cemetery, Irvington Baptist, has some very old oaks. The two other white cemeteries have smaller trees, mostly cedar, crepe myrtle, and dogwood.

The white cemeteries seem to me to have a better quality of grass growing in them than the black cemeteries. On the surface, this grass quality gives the white cemeteries a slightly neater appearance, a more lush look. This apparent difference in grass quality may reflect money spent on different grass types by the two societal groups (an idea which requires further research), but has little to do with regular maintenance.

All six cemeteries have some boundaries defined by wooded areas. Cemetery trash--old flowers (both real and plastic), flower containers, fragments of broken grave

markers, and left over dirt from dug graves--was found along these wooded boundaries. There was no distinct difference in quality of quantity of this cemetery trash between white or black graveyards.

Though there are some differences in vegetation, there is no significant difference in the overall appearance and maintenance of the black and white cemeteries.

Hypothesis 3. Differences in male-female societal roles and family structure are apparent from the study of the graveyards of each ethnic group, and illustrate that:

- a. The role of mother is more prominent in black graveyards than in white.
- b. The role of father is more prominent than mother in white graveyards than in black.
- c. When husband and wife are interred together, the inscription will have the male on the dexter side or above the female more often in white cemeteries than in black cemeteries.<sup>1</sup>

Because of the small number of cases involved and the closeness of the percentages as presented in Figure 26,

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<sup>1</sup>Dexter side is defined as "on the right-hand side...(the left of the viewer)." Webster's New World Dictionary, 1962. Cleveland: World Publishing.

the chi-square test was utilized to test whether differences as stated in hypothesis 3 are significant.

Figure 26 indicates a slight, but inconclusive, difference in the percentages of the mother role between the black and white cemeteries. The chi-square test performed on the mother variable could not measure a significant difference between the black and white cemeteries, probably because of small sample size (See Figure 32.) Hence the sub-hypothesis 3a is not confirmed.

The chi-square test also was employed to test hypothesis 3b, and the results again could not measure a significant difference between black and white cemeteries as far as the father role is concerned. Sub-hypothesis 3b is not confirmed. (See Figure 33.)

The results of the chi-square test performed on hypothesis 3c is shown in Figure 31, number 29, and in this case the null hypothesis is rejected. This indicates that there is a difference between the two groups as far as placement of inscriptions is concerned. Figure 29 shows that in the white cemeteries the inscription for the wife appears to the husband's left (it is the right side of the marker when one reads the inscription) more often than on the husband's right; and that the percentages of the wife's inscription being on the husband's left occurs significantly more often in white cemeteries than in black cemeteries.

Adult female role	white	black	total
Mother	22	14	36
Other than mother	14	14	28
Totals	36	28	64

chi-square calculations for cell A yeield: 0.15  
 cell B yield 0.19  
 cell C yield 0.19  
 cell D yield 0.25  
 x<sup>2</sup> is 0.78

At df of 1 and a confidence level of 0.05, the null hypothesis is not rejected.

Figure 32. Chi-square calculations for the role of mother

\* \* \* \* \*

Adult male role	white	black	total
Father	15	8	23
Other than father	11	6	17
Total	26	14	40

calculations, cell A give: .00017  
 cell B .00031  
 cell C .00023  
 cell D .00042  
 x<sup>2</sup> is .00113

At df of 1 and a confidence level of 0.05, the null hypothesis is not rejected.

Figure 33. Chi-square calculation for the role of father.

A complete summary of hypothesis 3 also includes factors other than those covered by the three sub-hypotheses. One thing to consider is Figure 27 as a whole. Although chi-square tests were unable to measure a difference between blacks and whites as far as the mother role or the father role are concerned, when all the family roles are looked at in the same contingency table the chi-square test does reject the null hypothesis. (See Figure 32, number 27.) This result indicates that there is a difference between blacks and whites in family roles depicted in the respective cemeteries.

All of the variables between numbers 25-31 (inclusive), Figure 32, relate to family and/or societal roles between blacks and whites. In five out of the eight cases portrayed, the chi-square test rejects the null hypothesis, and indicates that differences between the two groups do exist in the cemeteries. I want to take a closer look at the two cases where the null hypothesis was not rejected (numbers 26c, 28, and 30).

Figure 25c deals with the category of family role when a third variable is added. This third aspect divides family role by ethnic group, by sex, and by specific named role. The results are portrayed in Figure 26, and the chi-square test rejects the null hypothesis.

The second case where the null hypothesis is not



rejected is case number 30 in Figure 31. I indicated previously that blacks and whites apparently place their children with respect to parents in different locations. However, since the number of cases is so small, the results of the chi-square test indicate there is no significant difference. I will concur with this result.

With respect to hypothesis 3, my overall conclusion is that there are significant differences in male-female social roles between the black and white ethnic groups and they can be observed in cemeteries. As stated previously, the chi-square tests indicate this in five out of eight cases; and since I choose to consider case number 27 more significant than case numbers 26c and 28 (in Figure 31), differences appear in five out of six cases.

Hypothesis 4. There is a stronger religious connotation to epitaphs appearing in black cemeteries than in white cemeteries. Figure 20 shows that both ethnic groups have more secular epitaphs than religious epitaphs. I used the chi-square statistic to test whether there was a significant difference in the kinds of epitaphs appearing in the white and black cemeteries. The results of the chi-square test (Figure 31, number 20) do not reject the null hypothesis. I conclude that this hypothesis is not valid, and that no significant difference exists between the two ethnic groups with respect to epitaphs found in

the cemeteries, regardless of whether they are religious or secular. The lack of differences showing up may be due to: (1) small sample size; (2) borrowing by one ethnic group from the other; or (3) individuals following suggestions of the funeral directors. Additional fieldwork will be needed to resolve the alternatives.

Hypothesis 5. In terms of grave marker attributes considered as a group, there are more similarities than differences in the white and black cemeteries. Before stating my conclusion, I want to summarize quickly the numerical data results presented in this study.

Form: Tablet and plaque forms make up over 80% of the grave markers in the white cemeteries, and only 30% in the black cemeteries. Cement vault tops are found 54% of the time in black cemeteries and only 5% in the white cemeteries. More ledgers and obelisks appear in white graveyards than in black ones; and more mounds, depressions, and funeral director plaques appear in black graveyards than in white ones. The differences are so obvious that no chi-square test needed to be performed. (See Figure 3.)

Construction material: More granite and bronze markers appear in white cemeteries than in black cemeteries. The black graveyards have more cement, marble, aluminum, tin and iron, and wood grave markers

than do the white graveyards. Again the differences are so obvious that no chi-square test was performed. (See Figure 8.)

Shape: Figure 7 clearly indicates that significant differences exist between the two ethnic groups as far as shape of the grave markers appearing in the cemeteries is concerned. Again, because the differences were so apparent in frequency tables, no chi-square test was performed.

Design: Not only do the white graveyards have more designs appearing on the grave markers (an expected result since design appearance is associated with tablet forms in these six graveyards in this study), but there are also significant differences that do appear between the two ethnic groups in the design selection. (See Figures 10 and 11.) No chi-square test was performed because the frequency tables show clear differences.

Flowers: In both black and white graveyards, 21% of the graves had flowers of some sort. Black cemeteries, however, had more fresh flowers than white cemeteries; and white cemeteries had more plastic flowers than black graveyards. (See Figure 13.) In addition, Figure 14 indicates that there are differences in the kind of flowers used by each ethnic group. Chi-square tests indicate that differences between the two groups are

significant. (See Figures 32, numbers 13 and 14.)

Grave goods: The major difference between black and white cemeteries is the greater number of empty metal flower stands found in the black graveyards. (See Figure 15.) The chi-square test results indicate that there are significant differences between the two groups. (See Figure 32, number 15.)

Names: There is a greater variety of last names among the white graveyards than the black ones. There also appears to be a greater cohesiveness among white cemeteries than black ones, i.e., the group of last names appearing in any one white cemetery is different from the group appearing in the other white cemeteries. This suggests that white church congregations have the same family groups in them. The black graveyards, on the other hand, are different in that the last names are spread fairly evenly throughout all the church cemeteries. (See Figures 16, 17, and 18.)

Epitaphs: It is clear from Figure 19 that white graveyards have more epitaphs in them than black graveyards. As with design, epitaph appearance seems associated with the tablet form more than any other form. Since whites have more tablet forms, they also have more epitaphs. There is, then, a difference between the two groups as far as presence of epitaphs is concerned.

In terms of quality, however, no great difference exists. By this I mean that when epitaphs are divided into secular or religious categories, no significant difference occurs between the white and black graveyards.

Sex, family and society: In five out of the eight variables documented in the six graveyards, significant differences were shown to exist between the two ethnic groups. (See Figure 32, numbers 25-31.)

The summary of all these attributes leads me to conclude that there are significant differences between the black and white cemeteries in this study, and that these differences are both quantitative and qualitative. This being the case, Hypothesis 5 is rejected.

The people who are buried and memorialized in the six graveyards in this study are part of the population that evolved together into the distinct culture of the United States. Many of those buried had their distant antecedents in other cultures, in other times, and in other places. Some ancestors came from England, others from Africa, others from France or Scotland or Germany, and some probably came from the West Indies.

Each of these individuals or groups of people brought with them a substantial part of the culture they left behind. English and many other white cultures not only brought their own world view--their particular set of

values, beliefs, and ideas--but often brought a large part of their material culture as well.

Africans, transported to the New World as slaves, were not so fortunate. Many of them did not even have clothes on their backs, much less any other part of their material culture. All they brought were their beliefs, ideas, values, and languages. These intangibles are difficult to see, especially when there were apparently concerted efforts by slavers, slave merchants, and slave owners to erase the blacks' past culture and to mold them into docile acceptance of their new life.

For many years scholars and students from several disciplines have been attempting to understand the processes of development of our American culture. Many of these scholars have focused on studying the interaction of the enslaved Africans and their white masters, and how these two groups (together with all the other ethnic groups) evolved into the American culture of today.

(Abrahams, 1970; Combes, 1974; Dubois, 1903; Frazier, 1964; Geschwender, 1978; Herskovits, 1958 and 1966; Kalish and Reynolds, 1981; Levine, 1977; Olson, 1978; Raboteau, 1978; and Stack, 1974.)

This study of six Baptist graveyards in Lancaster County, Virginia, is another, albeit preliminary, in the long series of works looking at cultural evolution. One

of the main problems I encountered was what approach to take. The cemeteries in this study are a part of past material culture, even though the past is not very distant from the present moment. The general theoretical framework I decided to employ is systems theory. Graveyards, within this theoretical framework, are perceived as part of an overall system of past culture; and by intensive study of the cemeteries, one should be able to address questions about other aspects of the culture that are not so readily visible. These six graveyards should be able to tell me something about the cultures that produced them.

One of the most pressing problems facing historical archaeologists today is identifying ethnic groups or culture from material culture remains. Few archaeological studies have concerned themselves with identifying ethnic groups or cultures based on the archaeological record. John Otto has attempted to define status differences between owner, overseers, and slaves on a Georgia plantation (Otto, 1975.) Other writers have dealt with selected topics of black ethnicity, but there have not been any definitive studies published. (Baker, 1979; Deetz, 1978; Handler and Lange, 1978; and Schuyler, 1980.) Part of the reason is that archaeologists are still seeking to define characteristics distinctive of black culture.

One purpose of this study has been to define selected characteristics that are visible in the material cultural remains of known black and white ethnic sites, in this case, cemeteries. To accomplish this task, I have looked for differences and similarities. These differences can be used by other students of material culture to assist in their particular investigations of other graveyards.

The listing of these differences already has had some practical utility in identifying graveyards, and the cultures that produced them. Often cemeteries have distinct ethnic groups buried in separate areas on the grounds. Such is the case in the South Henry Street cemetery in Williamsburg. While it is easy to see that there are differences in two areas of this cemetery, it requires knowledge of the grave marker attributes to identify the ethnicity of the group to which they belong. Because of my study of graves in Lancaster County, I was able to identify one group of graves in the South Henry Street cemetery as black. This ability may prove crucial to other archaeologists surveying in rural areas where a small group of graves is located in some unusual or unknown wooded site.

Another question I wished to address in this study was to see what kinds information might be obtained from studying grave markers--information beyond mere



description of the stones and beyond demographic data such as life and death rates or family history reconstructions.

In this regard, the study of family and social roles became one of my prime interests. As Carol Stack has noted, the work of many scholars interested in black ethnic traits has tended "to reinforce popular stereotypes of the lower class or black family" as a matriarchal structure, deviant from the white nuclear family. (Stack, 1974, p. 22.) In All Our Kin, Stack demonstrates that the poor urban black family is one of extended kin relationships. These relationships go beyond blood and marriage (in fact, at times certain kin relationships are voided) to include neighbors and friends sometimes located far away from a particular individual. (Stack, 1974, pg. 45.)

Can the six graveyards in this study reveal similar information about culture and the various social networks that bind groups together? If so, are the revealed social relationships from these poor rural Virginia families similar to the poor urban black families in the Midwest identified by Stack (1974)?

The data from my six cemeteries certainly illustrate that there are differences in family structure between the white and black segments of Lancaster County society. They do indicate that each ethnic group does share among

themselves distinctive ways in memorializing their dead. The data illustrate that the female role is defined more explicitly than the male role for both ethnic groups. The data suggest that children are treated more like people by blacks than by whites. The data hint, in the sections on names and epitaphs, that blacks have a wider network of relations than whites. Finally, the data from family plots suggest that the black community has a more extensive network of family kinship ties than the white community.

The data at present, however, can do no more than hint. There simply are not enough numerical data to be statistically significant when discussing family or social networks. One might be able to get at such questions by performing extensive multivariate analysis of the grave marker attributes--to plot, for example, the extent of a particular design distribution in conjunction with a particular form and shape by sex, age, location, and so forth. With the data from more graveyards, even these high powered statistical manipulations would be questionable. This study, however, does indicate that information about social relationships and social networks can be obtained if we have enough of them and we look at them in the right way.

Another problem revealed itself in the course of

conducting this study and in analyzing the results. What is the extent that economics plays in the selection of grave markers by each ethnic group represented in this study? Marvin Harris suggests that economics--the modes of production and reproduction--plays a deterministic role in all societies. His model, presented in Cultural Materialism as a major theoretical contribution to anthropology, says to look for dominant economic characteristics before investigating other levels of behavior as causal factors. (Harris, 1979.)

The economic variable is, of course, one of the many variables that make us a culture. It is apparently an extremely important one. Poverty, for example, is the main determinant of an extended network of kin and social relationships; blacks adopted this network of relations to enable them to cope with the conditions of poverty encountered in urban areas. (Stack, 1974.) The question of wealth in the selection and maintenance of grave markers in this study shows up in a couple of ways.

First, high status individuals within both ethnic groups have more expensive grave markers. It may be that affluent blacks are more like affluent whites than they are like other blacks. The numerical and observable data merely hint at this and additional graveyards need to be studied to confirm it.

Second, the Baptists as a denominational group, both black and white, appear to represent the lowest economic status among religious denominations in Lancaster County. This is not surprising since the congregations seem to be comprised primarily of working class people, farmers, watermen, and the unemployed. This does not mean that all Baptists are poor, just that as a group they are less well off than other groups. Since this appears to be so, then differences that appear in the graveyards of the ethnic groups within the Baptist denomination may be due to factors other than wealth and economic status.

One interesting observation made by James Whittenburg which relates to the above point has to do with the relation of grave marker forms and major historical events. One would have expected changes in grave marker selection during periods of crisis such as the 1930's depression, or during World War I and II. (Whittenburg, personal communication, December 18, 1981.) One would expect, for example, a decline in the use of more expensive grave marker forms and construction materials during the 1930's for both ethnic groups. It does not happen. (See Figures 4, 5, and 9.) Tablets and other more expensive forms remain stable or increase; the use of granite increases. The use of marble does show a decrease for both groups, but the decrease began in the

decade before 1930, and continues to decrease among whites while increasing among blacks.

Economic status does affect grave marker selection to some extent, as I have discussed previously. The effect, however, may not be as great as Harris (1979), for example, suggests it may be. Other factors, such as aesthetics or religious beliefs, may be equally deterministic in grave marker selection.

The final problem this thesis addresses is the question of cultural convergence.

In 1970, Roger Abrahams wrote:

The United States, in spite of its democratic ideals, is essentially a pluralistic state; that is, rather than being a true "melting pot" ours is a nation in which communities with widely differing cultural perspectives only coexist. (Abrahams, 1970, p. 11.)

James Stuart Olson, nearly ten years later, expressed a similar view:

The melting pot may be bubbling, but it is still a long way from creating an America of one race, one religion, and one culture. Pluralism, not complete assimilation, is the reality of life in the United States. (Olson, 1979, p. xix.)

The evidence in the body of this work clearly shows that there is an overwhelming number of differences between the two ethnic groups in how they memorialize their dead, and is indicative of two separate cultural

traditions.

The question of whether a trend toward unification--toward the "melting pot"--can be seen is much more difficult to address. The primary reason for this is the low number of datable graves, principally in the black cemeteries, found in this study. Nonetheless, I made an attempt to discern trends on selected variables.

The white cemeteries show a steady rise in the number of tablet and plaque forms from 1900 to date. The obelisk form disappeared about 1940 and the ledger form was introduced then and has been slowly increasing. (See Figure 4.) The black cemeteries also show a steady rise in the tablet form from 1900 to 1970, and a dramatic increase in this form for the past ten years. In this case, the black cemeteries are becoming more like the white cemeteries. However, the obelisk form disappeared earlier in the black graveyards than in the white, and the ledger form is only found in the ten year period between 1940 and 1950. Plaque forms have remained quite constant through time in the black graveyards and do not approach the numbers in the white cemeteries. Finally, the black cemeteries show an increasing number of cement vault tops, a form virtually non-existent in the white graveyards. (See Figure.)

Figure 9 shows the frequency of use of different

construction materials of grave markers through time. The black graveyards show regular increases in the use of marble, granite and concrete for the grave markers, and the introduction of bronze only in the last ten years. The white graveyards, on the other hand, show a huge jump in the use of granite since 1940, a decrease in the use of marble since 1920, and a slight increase in the use of bronze since the 1930's. The use of concrete disappears about 1940 in the white cemeteries. (See Figure 9.)

The presence of epitaphs is the only other variable I plotted through time, and the results are shown in Figure 22. In general, the white graveyards have twice as many epitaphs as black graveyards from 1900 to 1960. In the 1960's the black graveyards begin to surpass the white graveyards in the number of epitaphs present and have retained that pattern in the last twenty years. While the overall numerical totals of epitaphs are evening out, the patterns of use in approaching those summations in epitaph use are different.

The results of the three variables plotted through time do not indicate to me that the black and white cultures which produced the variables in the graveyards are not converging. Nor can I say with any degree of confidence that the two ethnic groups are becoming more different than they have been in the past. It is certain,

however, that differences do exist; and that both ethnic groups are changing slowly in the way they memorialize their dead, but these changes are not necessarily changing the relationships the two groups have had throughout this century.

In summary, this study provides a body of descriptive data which can be utilized by other students of material culture for comparative purposes, as well as to enable them to identify black and white cultural groups from grave markers. This study illustrates that the study of grave markers can suggest ideas about the kinds and extent of sociocultural relationships and networks operating in the culture which produced them. It suggests that economics is an important cultural trait, but is not necessarily the determinant trait in the selection of grave markers. And the study shows that graveyards found in close spatial and temporal relationships may exhibit distinct cultural traditions apart from the dominant culture of which they are a part.



## APPENDIX

Following is the code book I used to code the data from the six cemeteries into a form which could be counted and manipulated by the computer utilizing the SAS Program. The number on the left is the variable number, and is followed by an explanation of what the variable is. The word in capital letters is the name I assigned each variable.

The field is the column number (on the computer card and printout) in which the variable falls.

The code number represents the particular characteristic of the variable.

Example:	I	S	L	On the computer printout this
	D	T	O	
	N	O	C	would stand for the second
	O	N	A	
		E	T	gravestone in the Irvington
	7	2	1	

Baptist cemetery, which is located in an incorporated town.

The code book is in three parts. Each part represents the coded data pertaining to a particular grave which fits into 80 columns, the size of the standard computer card and printout. Each of the three sets of variables pertaining to one grave could then be combined or manipulated as needed using a MERGE statement in the SAS Program. ( SAS User's Guide, 1979, pp. 79-85.)

## CEMETERY CODEBOOK - PART I

<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>FIELD</u>	<u>CODE</u>
1- identification no. (name or cemetery & map reference on file with the Vir- ginia Research Cen- ter for Archaeo- logy) -- IDNO	1-2	0- missing 1- Sharon Baptist, 44LA69 2- Claybrook Baptist, 44LA68 3- Beulah Baptist 4- Mt. Vernon Baptist 5- Lebanon Baptist 6- White Stone Baptist 7- Irvington Baptist 8- Kilmarnock Baptist 9- St. John's Baptist 10- Corrottoman Baptist 11- Morattico Baptist 12- Wilder family plot, Irvington 13- Ball family plot, off Rt. 607, W. of Kilmarnock 14- Smither family plot, off Rt. 3, W. of Kilmarnock
2- grave number within the graveyard -- STONE	3-6	0- missing ____- real number used to identify a particular grave
3- location -- LOCAT	7	0- missing 1- incorporated town 2- unincorporated community 3- crossroads 4- rural roadside 5- private home 6- private in field/woods 7- other
4- ethnicity -- ETHNIC	8-9	0- missing 1- white 2- black 3- unknown
5- general surround- ings -- GENSUR	10	0- missing 1- rural 2- urban

<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>FIELD</u>	<u>CODE</u>
6- grave or plot appearance -- PLAPPEAR	11	0- missing 1- very neat, edger used regularly 2- okay, weekly mowing 3- overgrown with weed, covered with leaves 4- abandoned, totally uncared for
7- direction facing -- FACING	12	0- missing 1- east 2- north 3- south 4- west
8- grave marker construction material -- CONSTMAT	13-14	0- missing 1- blue-gray granite 2- white marble 3- limestone 4- concrete 5- concrete/pebble 6- wood 7- brass/bronze 8- aluminum 9- slate 10- other 11- tin 12- light gray marble 13- gray marble 14- cinder block 15- field stone 16- red granite/pebble 17- black granite 18- marble/pebble 19- blue/gray granite/pebble
9- gross form of grave marker -- FORM	15-16	0- missing 1- tablet 2- ledger 3- tomb/table tomb 4- plaque 5- obelisk 6- cement vault top 7- combination tablet & ledger 8- comb. tablet & plaque

<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>FIELD</u>	<u>CODE</u>
		9- comb. tablet & cement vault top
		10- comb. tablet, plaque & cement vault top
		11- plant
		12- mound, depression, or grass stain
		13- other
		14- comb. plaque & cement vault top.
		15- funeral director plaque
		16- post
		17- comb. cement vault top & funeral director
		18- stone
10- shape: description of top edge of grave marker -- SHAPE	17-18	0- missing
		1- serpentine
		2- slight round
		3- rounded/convex
		4- flat/straight
		5- lectern
		6- one shoulder
		7- two shoulders
		8- three or more shoulders
		9- die, taller than wide
		10- urn or other built-in container for grave goods
		11- combination of above
		12- other
		13- apex
		14- gothic
		15- flat with lectern top edge
		16- heart
		17- gable with flat top
		18- combination 8 & 10
		19- obelisk with apex top
		20- round shoulder/flat top
		21- gable
		22- large cross
		23- early serpentine
		24- carved humanoid
		25- unique/unusual
		26- coffin
		27- pulpit
		28- double slight round

<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>FIELD</u>	<u>CODE</u>
11- marker finish on front or top -- FINISHFR	19	0- missing 1- steeled 2- polished 3- rocked 4- textured 5- painted 6- plain 7- other
12- design/inscrip- tion finish if different from 11 above -- DESFIN	20	0- missing 1- steeled 2- polished 3- painted 4- other
13- finish on back of marker -- FINISHBK	21	0- missing 1- steeled 2- polished 3- rocked 4- textured 5- painted 6- plain 7- other
14- design/inscrip- tion on back fin- ish if different from 13 above -- DESFINBK	22	0- missing 1- steeled 2- polished 3- painted 4- other
15- side finish -- SIDEFIN	23	0- missing 1- steeled 2- polished 3- rocked 4- plain 5- painted 6- other
16- top finish if different from 11 above -- TOPFIN	24	0- missing 1- steeled 2- polished 3- rocked 4- plain 5- painted 6- other

<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>FIELD</u>	<u>CODE</u>
17- paint color -- PAINTCLR	25	0- missing 1- silver 2- 50% silver (rest has eroded away) 3- slight trace of silver 4- black 5- white/whitewash 6- other
18- design on marker -- DESTYPE	26-27	0- missing 1- military, CSA 2- military, USA 3- cross 4- flowers 5- human figure 6- lamb 7- dove 8- animal other than 6-7 9- trees 10- urn/willow 11- lodge symbol (mason) 12- occupation symbol 13- plain/no design 14- geometric 15- combination of designs 16- other 17- pine boughs 19- comb. with mason symbol 20- scroll 21- angel 22- book 23- anchor 24- gates ajar 25- crossed rifles 26- casket 27- crown 28- gothic windows 29- order/eastern star
19- design location -- DESLOC	28	0- missing 1- top center 2- upper corners 3- on both sides 4- left side 5- right side 6- surrounding inscription 7- combination

<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>FIELD</u>	<u>CODE</u>
		8- other
		9- bottom
20- inscription location -- INSLOC	29	0- missing
		1- top
		2- center
		3- bottom
		4- left side
		5- right side
		6- covered 50% of marker
		7- back and 2 above
		8- combination of above
		9- other
21- family plot- marker present in family plot, or plot large enough for two or more bodies -- FMLYPLOT	30-31	0- missing
		1- no
		2- yes
		3- yes, with corner stones
		4- yes, with brick border
		5- yes, with concrete curb border
		6- yes, with wood fence
		7- yes, with metal fence
		8- yes, with shrubbery border
		9- yes, with family name marker
		10- yes, with combination of above
		11- other
		12- yes, with metal stakes
		13- yes, with corner stones and metal posts
22- footstone, if present -- FOOTSTON	32	0- missing
		1- no
		2- yes
		3- yes, material & finish same as headstone
		4- yes, material & finish different from headstone
		5- other
23- footstone form -- FTSNFORM	33	0- missing
		1- square, at or above ground level

<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>FIELD</u>	<u>CODE</u>
		2- rectangular, at or above ground level
		3- other
		4- military plaque
		5- same as headstone
		6- funeral director plaque
		7- broken
		8- post
		9- plant
24- footstone, design/inscription -- FTSNDES	34	0- missing
		1- name and lodge symbol
		2- name only
		3- yes
		4- yes, initial only
		5- names and dates
		6- family roles
25- grave goods, flowers -- FLOWER	35	0- missing
		1- real and alive
		2- real and dead/dying
		3- plastic
		4- other
		5- combination 1 & 3
		6- comb. 2 & 3
		7- comb. 1 & 2
		8- U.S. flag
		9- comb. 3 & 8
26- flower color -- FLOWCLR	36	0- missing
		1- red/pink
		2- white
		3- yellow
		4- blue/purple
		5- orange
		6- green leaves
		7- other
		8- combination of above
27- flower variety -- FLOWVAR	37	0- missing
		1- rose
		2- carnation
		3- lily
		4- gladiola
		5- phlox
		6- mums
		7- fern



<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>FIELD</u>	<u>CODE</u>
		8- daffodil
		9- azalea
		10- boxwood
		11- cedar
		12- crepe myrtle
		13- other
		14- combination
		15- poinsettia
		16- daisy
		17- tulips
		18- dahlia
		19- hydrangea
		20- passion flower
		21- camelia
		22- iris
		23- lilac
		24- pine tree
		25- periwinkle
		26- xmas greens
28- flower container construction material -- FLOCONST	39	0- missing
		1- plant in ground
		2- ceramic
		3- plastic
		4- tincan/metal stand/pot
		5- glass
		6- styrofoam
		7- cardboard
		8- stone
		9- other
29- flower container color -- FLOCOCLR	40	0- missing
		1- red
		2- white
		3- green
		4- gray
		5- other
		6- yellow
30- flower location -- FLLOCAT	41	0- missing
		1- at head
		2- at foot
		3- at head and foot
		4- at head, behind marker
		5- other
		6- surrounding grave
		7- on top of grave

<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>FIELD</u>	<u>CODE</u>
		8- on left
		9- on right
31- grave goods other than flowers -- GRVGOOD	42	0- missing
		1- metal stand
		2- styrofoam cross
		3- wooden cross
		4- plasticized photo
		5- stone/brick
		6- shell
		7- other
		8- combination of above
		9- wooden/iron post
32- inscription blocks -- INSBLK	43	0- missing
		1- last name only
		2- last name, first name & initial
		3- all names and dates
		4- (last name). (first name and dates)
		5- (last name). (first name and dates), & (epitaph)
		6- (last name), (first name, dates & epitaph)
		7- (first name & dates) & (epitaph)
		8- combination of above
		9- other
33- sex/age identi- fication -- SEXSTAT	44	0- missing
		1- child, sex unknown
		2- adult, sex unknown
		3- male child
		4- female child
		5- female adult
		6- male adult
		7- family name only
		8- two or more individuals on marker
		9- other
34- marker location by sex -- SEX	45	0- missing
		1- single grave
		2- male left, female right
		3- female left, male right
		4- other

<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>FIELD</u>	<u>CODE</u>
		5- unknown
		6- male west, female east
		7- male east, female west
35- marker location by parent or child -- PARCHLOC	46	0- missing
		1- child left of parent
		2- child right of parents
		3- child at foot of parent
		4- child at head of parent
		5- unknown
		6- child between parents
36- inscription name order -- NMEORD	47	0- missing
		1- last name, first name
		2- first name, last name
		3- other
		4- only first name and middle initial/name
37- height of die -- DIEHGT	48-51	0- missing
		— - actual height in tenths of feet
		9.99- ten feet or larger
38- width of die -- DIEWID	52-55	0- missing
		— - actual width
		9.99- ten feet or larger
39- thickness of die -- DIETHK	56-68	0- missing
		— - actual thickness
		9.99- ten feet or larger
40- length of base-- BASLEN	59-62	0- missing
		— - actual length
		9.99- ten feet or larger
41- width of base -- BASWID	63-66	0- missing
		— - actual width
42- height (thick- ness) of base -- BAS	67-69	0- missing
		— - actual height
43- length of cement vault top or ledger -- VTLEN	70-73	0- missing
		— - actual length

<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>FIELD</u>	<u>CODE</u>
44- width of cement vault top or ledger -- VTWID	74-76	0- missing — - actual width
45- flower wreath shape -- FLOWSHP	77	0- missing 1- bouquet 2- heart 3- round 4- shield 5- cross 6- rectangle 7- other 8- boat/ark 9- combination
86- stone function -	78	0- missing 1- no headstone; footstone is main identifier 2- family name marker, not individual marker
46- card number -- CARDNO	80	actual card number (note: each grave marker has three cards that contain data about the grave.)

## CEMETERY CODEBOOK - PART II

<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>FIELD</u>	<u>CODE</u>
1- identification no. -- IDNO	1-2	0- missing 1- Sharon Baptist 2- Claybrook Baptist 3- Beulah Baptist 4- Mt. Vernon Baptist 7- Irvington Baptist 8- Kilmarnock Baptist
2- stone number with- in cemetery -- STONE	3-6	0- missing ____ - real number used to identify a particular grave
47- height of cement vault top or ledger -- VTHGT	7-9	0- missing ____ - actual height
48- length of plaque -- PLACLEN	10-13	0- missing ____ - actual length
49- width of plaque -- PLACWID	14-17	0- missing ____ - actual width
50- height of plaque -- PLACHGT	18-20	0- missing ____ - actual height
51- length of foot- stone -- FTSNLEN	21-24	0- missing ____ - actual length
52- width of foot- stone -- FTSNWID	25-28	0- missing ____ - actual width
53- height of foot- stone -- FTSNGHT	29-32	0- missing ____ - actual height
54- length of tomb -- TOMBLEN	33-37	0- missing ____ - actual length
55- width of tomb -- TOMBWID	38-42	0- missing ____ - actual width
56- height of tomb -- TOMBHGT	43-46	0- missing ____ - actual height

<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>FIELD</u>	<u>CODE</u>
57- length of obelisk -- OBELEN	47-50	0- missing ____- actual length
58- width of obelisk -- OBEWID	51-54	0- missing ____- actual width
59- height of obelisk OBEHGT	55-59	0- missing ____- actual height
60- miscellaneous	60	1- design handpainted 2- inscription handpainted, lettered, or scratched 3- combination 1 & 2 4- unique/unusual marker 5- observation/idea noted in field (see field notes) 6- 1981 grave 7- plastic letters/design 8- no cross on military marker
61- military rank -- MILRANK	61	0- missing 1- pvt 2- cpl 3- sgt 4- officer 5- naval enlisted 6- other 7- pvc 8- techn rank
62- branch of service -- MILSERV	62	0- missing 1- Army 2- Navy 3- Air Force 4- Marines 5- Coast Guard 6- CSA, Inf.
63- war served in -- MILWAR	63	0- missing 1- WWI 2- WWII 3- Civil 4- WWI & WWII

<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>FIELD</u>	<u>CODE</u>
		5- Korea
		6- Vietnam
		7- combination
64- state of origin -- MILSTE	64	0- missing
		1- Virginia
		2- Maryland
		3- South Carolina
		4- New York
		5- New Jersey
		6- Pennsylvania
		7- District of Columbia
		8- North Carolina
65- type of service -- MILTYPE	65	0- missing
		1- infantry
		2- engineers
		3- support services
		4- unknown
		5- artillery
66- military stone used as foot- stone -- MILFTST	66	0- missing
		1- yes
		2- no
		3- other
67- family role -- FAMROLE	67	0- missing
		1- wife
		2- wife and mother
		3- husband
		4- husband and father
		5- mother
		6- father
		7- daughter
		8- son
		9- other
68- occupation, if present -- OCCUP	68	0- missing
		1- military
		2- minister/deacon
		3- musician
69- marker contribu- ted by -- CONTRIB	69	0- missing
		1- spouse
		2- immediate family
		3- extended family
		4- someone outside family

<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>FIELD</u>	<u>CODE</u>
		5- son
		6- daughter
70- funeral director, if indicated -- FUNDIR	70	0- missing 1- Elmore & Haynie 2- Campbell 3- Holloman Brown 4- Waddy 5- Gray 6- name not on placque 7- Jones-Ash 8- T.B. Marks, Tappahannock
71- firm supplying marker, if known -- FIRM	71	0- missing 1- same as funeral director 2- Carroll Memorial, Fred- ericksburg 3- June Parker, Tappahannock 4- J. Henry Brown, Richmond 5- Booth Memorial, Richmond
72- photo of grave -- PHOTO	72	1- yes
73- month/year ceme- tery documented -- MONYEAR	73-76	0- missing 1- actual dates
74- number of markers with grave -- NOMARK	77	0- missing ____ - actual number
75- number of markers associated with a family marker -- NOMARKFM	78-79	0- missing ____ - actual number of markers not including family marker
46- card number -- CARDNO	80	1- part I of codebook 2- part II of codebook 3- part III of codebook



## CEMETERY CODEBOOK - PART III

<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>FIELD</u>	<u>CODE</u>
1- identification no. -- IDNO	1-2	0- missing 1- Sharon Baptist 2- Claybrook Baptist 3- Beulah Baptist 4- Mt. Vernon Baptist 7- Irvington Baptist 8- Kilmarnock Baptist
2- stone number with- in cemetery -- STONE	3-6	0- missing ____ - real number used to identify a grave
76- last name -- LAST	7-21	0- missing ____ - name in letters
77- first name -- FIRST	22-36	0- missing ____ - name in letters
78- middle name/ ini- tial -- MIDDLE	37-51	0- missing ____ - name in letters
79- title -- TITLE	52-55	0- missing ____ - title in letters (Mr., Mrs., etc.)
80- date of birth -- (BMON) (BDAY) (BYR)	56-63	0- missing ____ - month in 56-57, day in 58-59, year in 60-63
81- date of death -- (DMON) (DDAY) (DYR)	64-71	0- missing ____ - month in 64-65, day in 66-67, year in 68-71
82- age at death, if given -- AGEDEAD	72-74	0- missing ____ - actual age in years
83- epitaph presence -- EPIPRES	75	1- yes
84- epitaph type -- EPITYPE	76	0- missing 1- secular 2- religious explicit 3- religious implicit

<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>FIELD</u>	<u>CODE</u>
85- epitaph statement -- EPISTATE	77-78	0- missing 1- unique/special 2- Gone, but not forgotten 3- he/she was a good/tender father/mother & friend 4- in memory of 5- in loving remembrance/memory 6- with love 7- sunshine of our home 8- at rest 9- there is rest in heaven 10- asleep in Jesus/Christ 11- a poetic statement 12- (deleted) 13- one worthy of remembrance 14- (deleted) 15- (deleted) 16- of such is the kingdom of heaven 17- till we meet again 18- gone to be an angel 19- think of him/her as the same and say he/she is not dead, he/she is just gone away 20- pray for us 21- rest in peace 22- devoted father/husband or loving/true wife/mother 23- darling, we miss thee 24- tho lost to sight, to memory dear 25- forever honored, forever mourned 26- a sunbeam from the world has vanished 27- thy will be done 28- prepare to meet me in heaven 29- the Lord is my shepherd 30- combination 31- gone home 32- loved by all 33- loved and remembered and a friend to all

<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>FIELD</u>	<u>CODE</u>
		34- they are not dead, for death is the crown of life
		35- she did what she could
		36- sunset and evening prayer
		37- sweet hour of prayer
		38- god is love
		39- safe in the arms of Jesus
		40- he being dead yet speaketh
		41- missing (implies missing in action)
		42- indicates place of death
		43- near my god
		44- peaceful sleep O how sweet
		45- we will meet again the family
		46- thy life was love, good- ness, truth, and beauty
		47- a faithful friend
		48- sleep on
		49- not my will, but thine be done
		50- I will trust in the Lord
		51- blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God
		52- together forever
		53- dear brother/sister
		54- memory
		55- blessed are the dead who died in the Lord
		56- the memory of the just is blessed
		57- on Christ the solid rock I stand
		58- blessed is he that is found watching
		59- our darling baby
46- card number -- CARDNO	80	1- part I of codebook 2- part II of codebook 3- part III of codebook

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